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SEMIONOV, it seems, is a man of mystery to most of our newspapers. Is he really a monster who tortured civilians and devastated peaceful communities? Or was he a sort of Vicar-in-Russia of the Allied gods, waging bravely the fight against Satan's representatives, the Bolsheviki? Did he steal or did he merely requisition? Did he pay for goods in money or in paper rubles? Confusion has reached even lower depths. The New York *Times* describes our visitor in these terms: "Despite his military mustache, his mild blue eyes gave one anything but the picture of a bloodthirsty guerrilla." The *World*, no less explicit, reports: "He has high cheek-bones and fat rosy cheeks. His black mustache is upturned at the ends. His small black eyes are almond-shaped." But the *World* in its editorial columns returns to the main point at issue and seriously poses the question: Was Semionov a bandit or was he, as he claims, "head of the All-Russian Anti-Bolshevist Army after Kolchak," acting with "moral and perhaps financial support from one or some of the Allies"? For ourselves we refuse to be stumped. Firmly we grasp both horns of this dangerous-looking dilemma and mildly, if cynically, announce: "Undoubtedly Semionov was both."

SOVIET RUSSIA'S delegations to the Genoa Conference have proceeded in a sort of triumphal march across Europe. They were feted in Latvia where, across the coffee-cups, they negotiated an agreement that Poland, Latvia, and Esthonia would stand together against any such attempt at an Allied consortium to exploit Russia as was proposed at Cannes. (These little nations which a few years ago were fighting at the behest of the Allies, long ago gave that up and negotiated peace on their own account, with de facto, de jure, complete recognition.) The Russians marched on to Berlin, where they were given more dinners and more speeches, ending in the transfer of the old imperial embassy to the Bolsheviks. (The Allies still leave counter-revolutionary plotters in possession of the embassies in their capitals.) The Soviet diplomats did not cross France, but Poincaré secretly negotiated with them by indirect channels. And at Genoa they are the cynosure of all eyes, the news-sensation of the day. With reparations excluded from discussion, Genoa inevitably pivots on the Russian question. Rarely have diplomats had such an opportunity as faces Litvinov, the ex-Ghetto dweller, Chicherin, the ex-aristocrat, Krassin, the ex-engineer, and Joffe, the ex-agitator. And Chicherin's opening plea for disarmament, blocked though it was by the stubborn blindness of reactionary France, was a glorious beginning.

IF peace comes soon in the great British lock-out Mr. Lloyd George will doubtless add another feather to his headdress, but we suspect that his efforts will have achieved little more than an industrial version of the Peace of Versailles. The issues that have emerged in the course of the lock-out are not to be settled on any of the terms so far put forward by the employers who have managed to broaden the controversy—which started as a dispute over the adjustment of overtime—to take in the whole question of autocratic versus democratic management. Sir Allan Smith, acting as spokesman for the employers, recently announced: "The issue at stake is no less than this: Is industry in this country to be carried on on a soviet basis, or on the basis of private enterprise?" Which misstated the case, and stated the employers' attitude, very neatly. The British press on the whole has sided with the workers and has voiced the opinion that to throw out of work—at a time of widespread unemployment—nearly a million machinists in many different trades was a flagrant act; in war-time it would come near to treason. Mr. Lloyd George has brought the two sides together in conference, but the result is still in doubt. Unless it provides what the employers have steadfastly refused even to consider—joint control over working conditions and hours as well as over wages—the lock-out and the strikes which have accompanied it will be a beginning not the end of industrial trouble in Great Britain.

WHEN M. Poincaré or M. Barthou speaks we think we hear the voice of France. So we do, in a sense—the voice of official France, of a parliament elected in the passions of the early post-war days. Yet even that Chamber at times struggles against its chosen leader. Before the war every French young man was forced to serve three full years in the army—longer even than in Germany. After

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the war the term was reduced to two years—still a big chunk in the life of a young man. The Government, yielding to public opinion, has just reduced it to eighteen months—yet despite all the maneuvering of the Government 237 deputies broke ranks and voted to reduce it further still, some to eight months, some to twelve. The vote was a moral defeat for Poincaré. Still more significant was the vote in two districts for the Paris Municipal Council. Last winter these districts elected two of the Black Sea mutineers—men who hoisted the red flag rather than fight the unauthorized war against the Bolsheviks. The Government refused to amnesty the men, and annulled the elections. Now their districts have reelected them by enlarged majorities. Marty, leader of the mutineers, had 4,456 votes to his opponent's 1,778!

AT last, after innumerable delays and some rather brazen jockeying with indictments and court procedure, the State of California is ready to prosecute six men, under the Criminal Syndicalism Act, for belonging to the Communist Labor Party. These men—Tobey, Smith, Snyder, Ragsdale, Dolsen, and Reed—have chosen to conduct their own defense and expect, judging from previous trials under the same act, to receive sentences which may run as high as fourteen years. Their conviction is surer and their punishment will be more severe than if they had committed manslaughter, rape, or abduction. Yet these dangerous men have been quietly at work at their own trades or callings ever since the convention some two years ago which led to their arrest. They have subverted no government; they have not jumped bail. Individually and collectively they seem to be above the average not only in courage but in competence and in a sense of social responsibility. Yet California still demands victims; at a time when most organizations of heresy-hunters throughout the country have fallen into what Grover Cleveland would have called innocuous desuetude, the Better America Federation of California still sees red revolution around every corner. The famous California climate produces hysteria and intolerance as luxuriantly as other fruits.

STILL more flagrant is the procedure in the trial of Casdorf and Firey at Sacramento. Their sole crime seems to consist of membership in the I. W. W., which in California is considered proof of criminal syndicalism. Nine witnesses for the defense were arrested as they left the stand—apparently on the theory that statements made by them in their testimony violated the law. In other words, the State holds that it is a crime for witnesses under oath to defend the advocacy of what are construed as syndicalist ideas. Such procedure is unparalleled in criminal law and amounts to intimidation of witnesses. It would make defense impossible in criminal syndicalist cases. Will our bar associations, in the face of this new blow at civil liberty, maintain their policy of silence or acquiescence? The issue quite transcends State lines in its importance. California cannot monopolize the shame and hurt of her Mooney and her criminal syndicalist cases.

"MINERS War on Steel Corporation"—and every citizen who knows what the autocracy of the steel trust means in terms of human well-being will wish the miners success in their bloodless battle. They are making progress, organizing the non-union men of the Fayette County coal and the Connellsville (Pennsylvania) coke regions upon which the steel trust has depended. Continuance of such success will do much to compel the operators to abandon their arrogant attitude toward the workers and the public. The miners are constructive. They call attention to twenty-seven classifications of vital facts needed and now unknown. But the operators have advanced no constructive suggestions. Some of them are spending money to advertise their willingness to make district agreements. They know—better than the public to whom they appeal—that for nearly thirty years the agreement in the central competitive field has been basic and that substitution of independent district agreements is merely a device for smashing the mine workers' union and for bringing new chaos into the competitive marketing of coal. Nor is this sudden zeal for district agreements prompted, as the operators would have us believe, by fear of the anti-trust laws. The operators have the assurance of the Attorney-General that they can negotiate collectively with the miners. Such excuses as they make only confirm the public's impression of their incompetence.

ELSEWHERE in this issue appears the proclamation of Admiral Robison, Military Governor, by right of might, of the Dominican Republic, annulling all those handsome promises made by both the Wilson and the Harding administrations of restoration of Dominican sovereignty. The offer is withdrawn because "the Dominican people have given no evidence of their willingness to accept its terms." Of course they haven't. The terms included "ratification of all the acts of the occupation" and of a new loan. Admiral Robison's proclamation pleasantly repeats that the United States "will consider complete withdrawal" when the Dominicans come to our terms. Also it announces definitely that a loan will be "negotiated," i. e., forced on the Dominican people, and that the occupation will not withdraw before the loan is ratified. All this for the sake of the bankers and in the name of the American people—who do not know anything about it.

MEANWHILE, an earlier stage of the same process is under way in Haiti. The American occupation had been able to jam about everything else "down the throats of the Haitians at the points of bayonets"—to recall a campaign address of Warren G. Harding—except the loan. Even holding up the salaries of the Haitian President and other officials did not quite get that across. Now the new dictator of Haiti, Brigadier-General Russell, Ambassador Extraordinary without consent of the Senate, is arranging to have the hand-picked Haitian council of state "elect" a successor to President Dartiguenave, and presumably the price of the presidency is acquiescence in the loan. All this goes on while the select committee of the Senate is supposedly still "investigating," and before its report has been even presented to, let alone accepted by, the Senate. It is a merry imperialistic debauch which our bankers and the State Department are engaged in, "with the help of a few marines."

IT is a long, hard trail that Emile Treville Holley is hitting. Holley is the Harlem Negro whom Representative Martin C. Ansorge has nominated to be a midshipman at Annapolis. His fellows will ostracize him—that the young snobs who will be his fellow-cadets have already made abundantly plain. His superiors will snub him. There is talk of "unwritten laws and customs of the naval service

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which may make life therein unbearable to anyone who for any reason may be regarded as personally objectionable," and recollection of the hell which was created for the Negro cadets who braved Annapolis in the 70s, to whom no other cadet ever spoke except when official duty required it. There are many who urge Holley "in his own interest" to stand down. If he has the courage and conviction to pass the ordeal we hope that in the interest of his race he will see it through. Annapolis, after all, belongs not to the cadets but to the nation of which ten million men and women of dark skin are citizens, and those men and women will never win the rights which are theirs until pioneers face just such trials as confront Holley.

IS New York in the throes of an epidemic of violence or of an unprecedented panic? Is Police Commissioner Enright in error when he denies the existence of a crime wave or when he calls for more policemen and issues instructive leaflets telling citizens how to avoid complications with hold-up men and thieves? We may not hope for final truth, but at least we may safely guess that it lies somewhere between Mr. Enright at his most sanguine and Mr. Enright in the funk caused by reading Governor Miller's thoughts on his administration. Better men than the present Police Commissioner agree with him that upon the whole crime has not largely increased. On the contrary, the last few years have shown a decrease in crimes of violence here and in other large cities as well. On the other hand sensational crimes have multiplied and prison statistics indicate a marked increase in young criminals and first offenders. Hold-ups in small shops, hold-ups of individuals, numerous shootings, all indicate—we are told by experienced criminals and criminologists alike—the work of the amateur. Professional crime is a more prosy profession. And this wave of amateur crime results in part, no doubt, from economic causes—unemployment and high living costs—but even more from the violence and casual attitude toward life engendered by the war. Without demanding an immediate solution—for the solution, we know, lies at the very roots of our economic and political organization—we want to protest vigorously against any tendency to make every man his own policeman, as New Jersey is reported to have done. Arming citizens will make more crime, not less.

THAT considerable section of humanity which cannot be happy without a devil to fear and hate feels the subsidence of war passions keenly. The horrific Kaiser is now only William the Woodchopper of Doorn; the bearded bolshevik Beelzebub no longer keeps even Archie Stevenson in a delicious fright. Earnest men have done their best to raise one or another of the various nationalistic bogies to Satan's throne, but with only partial success. Hence the tendency to fall back on the consolations of religion. Which reflections are prompted by news of the formation of the Evangelical Protestant Association of America with some of our most dauntless bigots among the organizers. They find it easy to diagnose humanity's ills. What can be more simple: "The Roman Catholic Church is the outstanding peril to America and the world." Whereupon the Knights of Columbus suggest that the time "has arrived for the provision by legislation of punishment for commercialized attack on established religion." We think that this proposal would play into the hands of bigots rather than discourage bigotry. What we need is not another repressive law but a tolerant spirit. Colonel Sam Robertson in his picturesque letter to "you old crapshooters, poker players, bootleggers, and booze histers . . . my beloved friends" of the San Benito Ku Klux Klan stated a truth of national application: "This town was built up on tolerance, good-feeling, and respect of one another. Don't tear it down by Klanishness, intolerance, and religious bigotry."

PRESUMABLY wives will obey their husbands neither more nor less if the word "obey" is omitted from the marriage ceremony. Presumably husbands will, as usual, and with the support of the law, refrain from endowing their wives with all their worldly goods. The practical results of such a reform of the Episcopal marriage service will doubtless be small, or at least imponderable, but the changes suggested should none the less be made. For imponderables are important matters in this world; and worn-out symbols and vows sure to be broken are subtly dangerous. The less persons entering upon marriage are forced to approach the compact with tongues in cheeks the better for the whole institution. There are several other changes we might suggest, and some day may suggest, but those already proposed, aiming to make men and women enter marriage as equals, are a good start.

IS music really to disappear from the boulevards of Paris? Unless officialdom relents or the café-owners change their plans, the orchestras will have played their last strains even before these lines reach our readers. New taxes are so high that the café-owners have announced that they cannot pay both them and the salaries of the music-makers, and like docile citizens they have decided to pay only the taxes. Which may be all right for the café-owners, but how about the public and how about the musicians and how about the jazz dancers who are used to leading a foot-to-mouth existence but entirely unaccustomed to leading no existence at all? An Englishman's house is his castle, but a Parisian's café is his home, his club, his reading and writing-room, his place of amusement, and his political and literary forum all rolled into one. Withdraw the musicians and one might almost as well revert to early war days when the cafés closed at eight o'clock and the populace tucked itself into bed about nine. Some way, we are sure, a method will be found to maintain music as part of the public life of Paris. The Parisian has a knack of getting what he wants; he has a democracy of indirect action more irresistible than any direct power. There will continue to be orchestras in the cafés of Paris long after the Poincaré Government and the American debt and scores of other vexations have flowed seaward with the waters of the River Seine. Somehow music will live on the Boulevard of the Capucines—and of the world.

WE like to think that gentle spring does good to almost everything: She melts the ice so that the fish can find his way from pond to dish; she moderates the nights so crime is warmer than in winter-time; she pushes up the grass to feed cow and sheep and pig and steed; she sends us busy, buzzing flies to eat the garbage ere it dries; she whitens orchards and renews the greens and banishes the blues. Ought we not therefore to rejoice, with head and heart and eye and voice, and raise a hymn or so in praise of softer nights and warmer days? We ought, we do, we have done—here is our spring poem for this year!

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Can the Public Win the Coal Strike?

AT the end of every strike we are told what the employers have held on to and what the union has wrested from them. We are not told what the public has won or lost. If we were, we would have to admit that the public loses every strike, because nothing else can be the case when, after supporting both sides in idleness for weeks or months, it sees work resumed without a change in any of the fundamental industrial relations which have caused the breach and in time will certainly lead to another.

The coal strike is unusual in that there is a prospect that the public may win. It may win in the only way in which it ever can, that is by gaining new ground in its industrial thinking. Several factors are favorable for this. For one thing the public is not in a panic as it was in the autumn of 1919. Our industrial need of coal is below normal and, with summer ahead, our domestic demand is almost nothing. Then, too, the war psychology is disappearing; we are not so eager that somebody be clubbed over the head at once nor so ready to wait till his inquest for the facts. Furthermore, public sympathy is definitely with the workers. In most strikes the public suspects the employer but it distrusts the union even more. In the coal controversy there is a general feeling that the operators have put themselves in the wrong in at least three ways: in preventing by injunction an inquiry into the industry by the Federal Trade Commission; in breaking the agreement with the United Mine Workers for a conference previous to April 1; in refusing the overtures of Congress for a meeting after the strike had actually begun. In behalf of the miners the public is coming to understand what the demand for the six-hour day and the five-day week in the soft coal industry means—something which the press did not permit it to do when the program was first adopted two years ago. The public is coming to realize that the demand is not primarily for a reduction of work, but for an assured minimum and a stabilization of hours in the interest of the miner's health and steadiness of earnings. The public is finally learning that during the last thirty years the mines in the bituminous fields have worked an average of 215 days annually, or forty-five days fewer than the 260 days which a five-day week would call for. Public sympathy with the miners in the present controversy is reflected in the newspapers in a general fairness of comment which is in vivid contrast to the attitude in 1919, when Attorney General Palmer and Judge Anderson were vigorously upheld in denying the miners the legitimate right to down tools.

But in order that the public may win the coal strike it will be necessary to translate sympathy into intelligence. Coal mining stands condemned as probably the most wasteful, mismanaged, and anarchistic large industry in the country. To improve the situation we need at least two things: (1) A permanent government agency to get and publish facts and figures on coal, as the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Railroad Labor Board do with regard to railways; (2) a willingness on the part of the public to accept real industrial organization in place of the existing chaos.

A Congressional investigation of course would not be sufficient; there must be a permanent agency of inquiry, if not of control, if we are to get anywhere. But a change in the public attitude is immeasurably more important. Unless the public can take new ground in its industrial thinking, the whole country may be buried in facts about coal without any improvement in conditions. It is necessary not merely to evolve a plan but to educate the public to receive it. Failure in the latter respect was in part responsible for the miscarriage of the Sankey Report in Great Britain. Here in America, in particular, we must get over the "trust-busting" attitude toward industry that has held us back for thirty years—the mental habit which leads the man in the street always to exclaim: "The Gov'ment oughta get after those fellahs." Both capital and labor have been rendered almost helpless by our tendency continuously to interfere but never to assume responsibility. As William Hard says of the public in the coal issue of the *Survey Graphic:* "It wants neither proletarian nor capitalistic organization of concerted action within the industry. It wants ethics without a social structure for ethics."

For years we have proceeded on the theory that capital was a living, human organism, with a right to hire and control labor as a commodity; the result is before us in the chaos, anarchy, and failure of the coal-mining industry. Isn't it about time to experiment with the reverse process—to recognize labor as the living, human element, with the right to hire and control capital as a commodity? The one hope in the coal strike is that we may make some advance toward this conception. Otherwise it is of no moment how the strike is settled. The public will lose.

"A Plank That Would Sweep the Country"

PRESIDENT HARDING'S action in removing twenty-eight executive heads of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving of the Department of the Treasury gave the distinguished citizens known as Senators an opportunity to expound their views on civil service and the spoils system with a frank honesty which, in the absence of other virtues, is highly to be commended. Both of the grand old parties have a habit of inserting civil-service planks in their platforms; as Senator Norris said, "It is almost a rubber-stamp proposition in both parties." But neither party, once in power, likes to stand by and watch its opponents enjoy the fruits of office. The Wilson Administration set a record in spoilsmanship hardly equaled since the days of Andrew Jackson, and then, by new and excellent civil-service regulations, made it very difficult for the Republicans to oust the Democratic postmasters thus installed in office. The Senate debate revealed some of the methods devised to meet the Republican need, and it led to some frank avowals. For instance:

Mr. Stanley: Does the Senator regard the removal of a Democrat and the placing in his stead a good loyal Republican as a sufficient reason for the change?

Mr. New: It certainly would be to me.

Mr. Moses of New Hampshire was as frank; he found the words "wherever practicable" concealed in the Republican civil-service plank, and asserting his devotion to the plank, explained "the application of the civil-service law is practicable when we put Democrats out and put Republicans in." Nor did Senator Stanley complain of that interpretation:

I am not condemning the action of the Senator from New

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Hampshire; I am not condemning the action of the Senator from Indiana—brave, clean, fearless spoilsmen. I am condemning him who says that he does it for the good of the service if he does it for the good of his party.

Senator Norris of Nebraska, Republican though he is, ventured to criticize Republican as well as Democratic ventures in spoils-seeking, and frankly accused his own party of hypocritical pretense. The brave, clean Mr. Moses could not stand that.

Mr. Norris: While Senators say, as has been intimated here this afternoon, that it would be a good thing to put all the Democrats out and put Republicans in, we did not get into office by making that kind of a campaign. We did not say that out in the campaign, when we were running and trying to get votes.

Mr. Moses: I did.

Mr. Norris: Then the Senator ought to have been defeated if he did that.

Mr. Moses: I was not. I had the largest majority ever had in New Hampshire.

Mr. Norris: Then the Senator can keep on.

Mr. Moses: I am going to.

Mr. Norris: The Senator can be a spoilsman all his life.

Mr. Moses: I am going to.

Mr. Reed: . . . If he made that kind of a fight the frank and manly thing to do, it seems to me—and he always does the frank and manly thing—would be to introduce a bill here to repeal the civil-service farce and say "We are going back to the old system. If we win the election, we are going to take the offices. If the other side wins the election, let them take the offices." . . .

Mr. Moses: If the Senator will permit me, I will say to him that any party that will make a campaign on that plank will sweep the country. . . . I think the Administration should be surrounded by its friends. . . .

The Presiding Officer: The Senator will suspend while the Senate receives a message from the President of the United States.

Mr. Moses: I hope the message contains the names of a lot of good Republicans nominated for office.

This is the spirit in which the Senators conduct the business of government. Mr. Hitchcock of Nebraska, Democrat; Mr. Harreld of Oklahoma, Republican; Mr. Stanley, Democrat, and Mr. Moses, Republican; and Congressman Andrews of Nebraska, Republican (whose delightful letters protesting at the continuation in office of a Democratic postmaster at Clay Center, Nebraska, were introduced into the record) —these gentlemen appear in a sorry and disgraceful light in this Senate debate. One man stood out, almost a voice in the wilderness: Senator George Norris of Nebraska, insurgent Republican. We cannot do better than quote his statement on the civil-service in the Post Office Department:

President Harding modified the previous order of President Wilson so that it now provides that in the case of first, second, and third-class offices the Civil Service Commission shall hold an examination and the President will appoint from the three highest on the list. In order for the President to know which one of those to appoint, the Post Office Department submits the three highest on the list to the Republican Congressman of the district, if there is a Republican Congressman; if there is not he submits the name to somebody else connected with the party machinery and the selection is made, and that is certified to the President by the Post Office Department, and he makes that appointment. In my judgment that is entirely a nullification of the spirit of civil-service appointment of postmasters.

Which somehow reminds us of what one indignant Senator said about the untutored Haitians: "Why, the Government down there represents no principle whatever; their politics are just a battle of the ins against the outs."

Divided We Stand

IT is said in the Purple Book of Nommag that one of the more pedantic of the archangels argued in Heaven to something of this effect: The Civil War in America, said he, was fought over a point of grammar, and that point was whether the Americans should say "the United States are," as used to be the practice, or "the United States is," as is now almost universally the mode. The process was the same, this grammatical archangel insisted, as that which went on between the time when New York said "the Fifth Avenue," still conscious of the article, and the time when "Fifth" had become not a numeral but a name and had declared and achieved its independence of all and any articles forever. Look, urged the archangel, to the instinctive grammar of a nation for the true evidences of its unity. Foreigners may say "the United States are," in their various languages, and here and there some purist at home may do the same archaic thing; but the overwhelming bulk of those whose testimony is most valuable say "is" and thus reveal their sense that the welding is finished, the fusion complete.

Were you looking to be held together by the lawyers?
Or by an agreement on a paper? or by arms?
—Nay—nor the world, nor any living thing, will so cohere,

chanted Whitman at the end of the war. Indeed, the lawyers with their agreements on paper have done nearly as much to hold the States disunited as to unite them. Consider the differing statutes as to incorporation, insurance, divorce, and a hundred matters which hinder the nation's unity; consider the blood and sweat which the Interstate Commerce Commission has had to shed. But these are the technical and the trivial aspects of union, harldy to be weighed in the same balance against that increase of similarity which in spiritual and intellectual affairs has standardized the land. The United States "is" said to be now one vast and almost uniform republic. What riches of variety remain among its federated commonwealths? What distinctive colors of life among its many sections and climates and altitudes? How far does it justify that other line of Whitman:

Always the free range and diversity; always the continent of Democracy?

In search of an answer to these troubling questions *The Nation* has asked a group of keen observers to set down, each of them, the impression which he or she has of some given State—defining, describing, acclaiming, arraigning, analyzing, creating an image out of fragments, whatever the particular case demands. These observers will speak for themselves, one by one; but *The Nation* would like to preface the series with a statement of its hope regarding the union of These United States which has prompted the investigation. That hope is that whatever is artificial in the distinctions drawn between State and State may, in keeping with the current process, be assimilated, but that there may be the least possible surrender of the essential differences which soil and weather, social habit and ethnic stock, experience and ambition have raised up among the varying regions of the country. Though centralization and regimentation may be a great convenience to administrators, they are death to variety and experiment and, consequently, in the end to growth. Better have the States a little rowdy and bumptious, a little restless under the central yoke, than given over to the tameness of a universal similarity:

A party in a parlor, all silent and all damned.

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These United States[1]

KANSAS

A Puritan Survival

By WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

The following article is the first of a series on the commonwealths that compose this republic. They will probably appear in every other issue of The Nation. *No attempt has been made to secure uniformity of treatment, but rather as widely varying points of view as possible. Some of the articles will be largely political, some economic, some purely descriptive of the people and some of the physical characteristics of given States; some may be deliberately fragmentary, others may attempt a complete survey; some will be censorious, others more favorable in their analysis. But it is hoped that the series will furnish an enlightening perspective of the America of today in the somewhat arbitrary terms of politico-geographic boundaries, and that it will be a valuable contribution to the new literature of national self-analysis. The writers who have already submitted articles differ considerably in political or economic attitude, in profession and mode of life. These articles reveal in consequence a gratifying divergence. Other "States" are in preparation. A still larger number is as yet unassigned.*

IT is curious how State lines mark differences in Americans. There are no climatic differences between Kansas and Missouri, and small climatic differences between Kansas and Nebraska; yet the three States hold populations in which are marked differences—differences at least which Americans may distinguish. Doubtless to Chinamen all Americans look alike! But Americans know the differences between Americans North, East, South, and West, and dwellers in a section know minor differences between persons living in neighboring States in the same section of the United States. The larger sectional differences in Americans may be somewhat the result of climatic influences. But the distinguishing points between a Kansan and a Missourian, between a New Yorker and a citizen of Vermont, between a Georgian and a Virginian or a Louisianian, or between an Oregonian and a Southern Californian arise from the changes in men made by social and political institutions.

Kansans are marked by Puritanism. "Kansas," said our greatest statesman, John J. Ingalls, nearly forty years ago, "is the child of Plymouth Rock." In the beginning of the settlement of Kansas, the State was invaded by immigrants from New England or sons and daughters of New Englanders, who came to Kansas to make this a Free State. Congress left the question of slavery to the voters of the new State. A fair fight in an open field ensued; the abolitionists crowded out the proslavery people, outvoted them, and captured Kansas. The first Kansans, therefore, were crusaders, intellectual and social pioneers, covenanters of various sorts; which if you like to live comfortably upon your soft yesterdays, means that Kansas was full of cranks. Slavery being abolished your Kansan had to begin abolishing something else. Abolitionism was more than a conviction; it was a temperamental habit. It is a good or a bad habit according as you feel that you are your brother's keeper or that the devil should take the hindermost. Soldiers from the great war for the Union flooded into Kansas attracted by the free homesteads. But only Union soldiers could get free land, so Kansas was settled in the seventies and eighties almost exclusively by Northerners—partisans, bitterly controversial and biologically marked by a blue stripe under the waistcoat; Yankees and children of Yankees. Something had to happen to Kansas with such a population. It happened. It was prohibition, adopted forty years ago. Curiously enough the Republican Party in Kansas always indorsed prohibition in its State platforms and through its candidates, while the Democratic Party, representing the feeble protest of the easy-going citizenship that had come in to Kansas in the fifties and sixties bringing slaves, opposed prohibition. But the Democratic minority was negligible and the prohibitionists took away the liquor of their less scrupulous neighbors as their slaves had been taken. For two decades the prohibition problem engaged Kansas. It was a hard fight, but it never wavered. The Puritan won. The Law and Order League in every town and county worked day and night, and to make the victory surer, five years after prohibition came in, the State allowed women to vote in municipal matters, and women having the ballot in the towns where liquor was sold never stopped until prohibition succeeded. It required laws which permitted search and seizure, which prohibited doctors prescribing liquor, and druggists from keeping it in stock, laws which permitted the confiscation of liquor-running automobiles, and which made the second offense of the liquor seller a felony, sending him to the penitentiary for it—but in the end, prohibition won. Your Puritan is no slouch; he is thorough at all costs; thorough and fairly consistent.

For then came Populism. Populism had its genesis in the South probably; and it ran a mild course in the Dakotas and Colorado and Nebraska, States all more or less like Kansas in climate, in economic status, and in blood and breed. But because of the blood and breed, because of the Puritan inheritance of Kansas, the dour deadly desire to fight what was deemed wrong for the sheer sake of obliterating wrong, Kansas took Populism much more seriously than her sister States. Kansas produced most of the leadership of Populism. And long after Populism was defeated and forgotten Kansas clung to it, adopted its creed, and forced a dilution of Populism upon an unwilling nation. The insurgence of insurgency, the progressiveness of the Bull Moose, was the restless spirit of Kansas trying to realize the dream of Populism. Murdock, Bristow, Stubbs, Allen, and Capper in the uprising of the first two decades of the century gave to the national movement a certain blind crusader's enthusiasm. It was with a ghoulish grin that Victor Murdock met a fellow Kansan the morning when Roosevelt threw his hat into the ring in 1912.

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"Well—he's finally in," said the Kansan.

"And it's a fine joke on him," says Victor.

"Why?" says the Kansan.

"Because he thinks it's '60 and it's only '48," chuckled the Puritan, delighted that a great man was to aid a good cause and go to defeat in it, even if the great man did not dream what was ahead of him.

That was the Kansas of it. Murdock had no remote thought of hesitating because he saw the inevitable defeat. Defeat was his meat and drink. But he had his sneaking doubts about the Puritan zeal of Roosevelt, who was practical Dutch, doughty, and gorgeously militant; but with a sly sweet tooth for victory and its fruits. Your Puritan regards any sweet tooth as a weakness bordering upon sin! So Kansas has delighted in causes rather than conquests.

After prohibition succeeded and Populism passed, the pioneer spirit of Kansas engaged itself in several social and political experiments, most revolutionary then; but now they have become sane and commonplace attitudes in the ordinary way of life. The theory, for instance, that the State has a right to interfere in the individual's habits on behalf of the better health of the people of the State. Under the State Board of Health which had unusual police powers Kansas abolished the common drinking cup and the roller towel from public places, took over the distribution of various toxins against contagious diseases, inspected hotels and food stores, and closed them up when they were unsanitary. The State also guaranteed bank deposits and restricted the sale of stocks and bonds to projects that had State approval; established a State hospital where crippled children may be cured at State expense; printed its own school textbooks and distributed the books at cost; tightened its grip on public utilities operating in the State; passed a law which virtually socializes all Kansas industry except agriculture, and passed the long line of legislation, once referred to as socialistic and now merely sneered at as laws of Meddlesome Mattie, but accepted by most of the progressive States of the Union and loudly bewailed by those who believe in the laissez-faire theory of morals and economics.

Kansas delighted in being among the first to pass all of these and actually the first to enact many of them. Again it was the Puritan spirit cropping out. Prohibition had kept out of Kansas hundreds of thousands of Germans and Scandinavians and Bohemians who flooded Nebraska and the Dakotas in the eighties and nineties, and the New England strains of blood continued to dominate the life of the State. Nearly 77 per cent of our population is of American-born parents. The Puritan blood even now is the strongest current—almost the only current directing our thought in Kansas. We censor the movies and prohibit them on Sundays. We forbid race-track gambling—indeed, gambling of all kinds is illegal; stop the sale of cigarettes—or try to. We permit Sunday baseball, but only because it is amateur sport and is not commercialized. We prohibited the thing called white slavery before the passage of the Mann Act, and commercialized prostitution has been stopped in Kansas, as entirely as commercialized horse-stealing or commercialized arson or commercialized larceny of any kind. All these inhibitions against the natural tendency of depraved man cut loose from the apron-strings we are pleased to call moral restrictions. We make the questions moral issues arising before and after the passage of our restrictive laws. We go to the churches and schools for our political majorities. The politician who tries to assemble a majority without the churches and schools, without the women, and without what is known as the best influences in the community always finds himself leading a minority. He rails at the long-haired men and short-haired women; he rages at the Pecksniffian attitude of life. But it is deeply ingrained in the Kansas character. It seems so infernally pious; so hypocritical to those who oppose these causes. Yet at base these questions—abolition, prohibition, health, stability of savings, cigarettes, prostitution, gambling, and social and industrial justice—are not moral but economic in their value to society. Slavery would not work in a modern world; neither does the saloon; cigarettes and common drinking cups and prostitutes and roller towels and impure foods and long working hours cut down the producing power of men, cripple their economic efficiency; so puritanism which is always keen about the main chance makes a cause out of abolishing them, sings hymns—as, for instance, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," or "Where is My Wandering Boy Tonight," or "The Slave's Lament"—and quotes texts and holds prayer meetings to gild the main chance with the golden glow of piety. But after all it is the main chance the Puritan is after. He is an idealist planning a great democratic civilization; but one wherein a dollar will travel further, work harder, and bring in more of the fruits of civilization than any other dollar in the world. The waste of slavery, the social expense of the saloon, the venereal disease, the crooked stock seller, the purveyor of expensive schoolbooks or impure food, or the dishonest banker—each immediately becomes a check to the Puritan scheme of things and automatically is invested with evil! Meddlesome Mattie is the machinist operator who is forever listening into the works to hear a knock or a bur-r-r; and hearing it, jabs her monkey wrench into a lot of fun for some one, not because it is fun, but because it costs too much to maintain the bad adjustment.

So much for the institutions of Kansas—for her society and politics. Now for the life of Kansas, for which she has instituted her laws and social standards and upon which they rest. What manner of people are these Puritans who sing hymns and quote texts and glorify moral issues to cover the main chance, who glorify God to grease their busy dollars? As a pragmatic proposition does their civilization work? Is it worth while? Are people freer, happier, more prosperous, more comfortable and wise under this order of things than they are under the scheme of things which shrugs its Latin shoulders and says it does not care; says to waste is human, to enjoy divine? First let us look at the material side. As to wealth, for instance. Ten years ago the figures indicated that the county in the United States with the largest assessed valuation was Marion County, Kansas, a county in central Kansas, not materially different from any other county; Marion County happened to have a larger per capita of bank deposits than any other American county. Its average of per capita wealth and per capita bank deposits was not much higher than the Kansas average. Yet no man in Marion County was then rated as a millionaire, but the jails and poorhouses were practically empty. The great per capita of wealth was actually distributed among the people who earned it. They were sober, so they saved; they were healthy, so they worked. They were well schooled, so they worked to purpose and with direction and made money. They were clear-brained, well-bred, cold-blooded Yankees, who knew exactly what they

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wanted, how to get it, and where to put it. That is your Kansan. Typically he lives either upon an eighty-acre farm or in a detached house within a fifty-foot lot, near a schoolhouse, with an automobile in the garage, whether farmer or town dweller; if a farmer he lives upon a rural free-delivery route along which the postman brings to him at least one daily paper, one weekly paper, and one monthly; if a town dweller he lives upon a paved street, a sewer line, a telephone wire, an electric light and power conduit and a gas main. In the county wherein these lines are written, an ordinary Kansas county, the number of telephones exceeds the number of families, the daily newspaper prints as many copies as there are heads of families, and in the towns the number of electric light connections is more than the number of residences. Water and gas are common, and the bank deposits for the town and county are $6,260,000 and the number of depositors 21,500 in a county with a total population of 26,496 people. Ninety per cent of the families are within five miles of a high school in this county, and 25 per cent of the children of high-school age attend the high school. The county contains two colleges, and the attendance from the county in the colleges is 623! A farm agent who receives $2,200 a year advises the farmers about crops, helps them to overcome bugs and pests, and organizes them for marketing. The county is spending a quarter of a million upon its own hospital and no citizen of the county is in jail. Twenty-five miles of hard-surfaced roads are under construction and as much more ordered in. It cost less than $2,000 last year to try all the criminals that infest the courts, and a preacher is police judge of the county-seat town. He commits less than a dozen men a year to jail—and this in a town of 12,000 surrounded by a county of 26,496.

This is a Kansas average, and there is your ideal Puritan civilization: a prosperous people, burdened neither by an idle and luxurious class who are rich, nor taxed to support a sodden and footless class verging upon pauperism. A sober people practically without a criminal class, an intelligent people in so far as intelligence covers a knowledge of getting an honest living, saving an occasional penny, and living in a rather high degree of common comfort; a moral people in so far as morals consist in obedience to the legally expressed will of the majority with no very great patience for the vagaries of protesting minorities. A just and righteous people in so far as justice concerns the equitable distribution of material things, and righteousness requires men to live at peace among men of good-will. A free people in so far as freedom allows men and women to have and hold all that they earn, and makes them earn all that they get. But a people neighbor minded in the Golden Rule, a people neighbor bound by ties of duty, by a sense of obligation, by a belief in the social compact, in the value of the herd, in the destiny of the race. All these social totems are concentrated in the idea of God in the Kansas heart. We are a deeply religious people. Time was when they used to say in Kansas that the Republican Party and the Methodist church were the spiritual forces that controlled the State. "Ad astra per aspera," to the stars by hard ways, is the State motto, and kindly note the "hard ways." Ours is no easy approach to grace, no royal road to happiness, no backstairs to beneficence. There is no earthly trail paralleling the primrose path in which one can avoid the wrath of God and the lady next door. Life and liberty are indeed highly esteemed in Kansas; but the pursuit of happiness only upon conditions set forth in the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule, and their interpretation by the Kansas statutes.

Still we are not a joyless people. We laugh easily, and for the most part kindly. But we often approve the things we laugh at; we laugh one way and vote another. Our sense of humor saves us, but not entirely whole; we have never laughed ourselves out of our essential Puritanism. Laughter as a solvent has been tried—the anti-prohibitionists tried it, the opponents of Populism tried it, the defenders of Cannon and Aldrich and conservatism tried it. But they all failed as flatly as the Missourians and the gay Southerners failed who tried to laugh at the abolition rifles by dubbing them "Beecher's Bibles." Deep in our hearts is the obsessed fanaticism of John Brown. Joy is an incident, not the business of life. Justice as it works out under a Christian civilization is the chief end of man in Kansas.

But alas, this is begging the question. For who can say that the establishment of justice is the chief end of a state? Indeed who can say even what justice is? Is it just that every man should earn what he gets and get what he earns? Or is it just that those who see and feel and aspire to do great things—to make life beautiful for themselves and others—should be pared down to the norm in their relations with mankind? Is it justice to establish a state where the weak may thrive easily and the strong shall be fettered irrevocably in their most earnest endeavors? Should a state brag of the fact that it distributes its wealth equitably —almost evenly—when it has produced no great poet, no great painter, no great musician, no great writer or philosopher? Surely the dead level of economic and political democracy is futile if out of it something worthy—something eternally worthy—does not come. The tree shall be known by its fruit. What is the fruit of Kansas? Is happiness for the many worth striving for? What is the chief end of a civilization? What is the highest justice?

What we lack most keenly is a sense of beauty and the love of it. Nothing is more gorgeous in color and form than a Kansas sunset; yet it is hidden from us. The Kansas prairies are as mysterious and moody as the sea in their loveliness, yet we graze them and plow them and mark them with roads and do not see them. The wind in the cottonwoods lisps songs as full of meaning as those the tides sing, and we are deaf. The meadow lark, the red bird, the quail live with us and pipe to us all through the year, but our musicians have not returned the song. The wide skies at night present the age-old mystery of life, in splendor and baffling magnificence, yet only one Kansas poet, Eugene Ware, has ever worn Arcturus as a bosom pin. The human spirit—whatever it is in God's creation—here under these winds and droughts and wintry blasts, here under these drear and gloomy circumstances of life, has battled with ruthless fate as bravely and as tragically as Laocoön; yet the story is untold, and life no richer for the nobility that has passed untitled in marble or in bronze or in prose. Surely the righteousness which exalts a nation does not also blind its eyes and cramp its hands and make it dumb that beauty may slip past unscathed. Surely all joy, all happiness, all permanent delight that restores the soul of man, does not come from the wine, women, and song, which Kansas frowns upon.

Yet why—why is the golden bowl broken, the pitcher at the fountain broken, and in our art the wheel at the cistern still? This question is not peculiarly a Kansas question. It is tremendously American.

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Textile Force *vs.* Textile Facts

By EVANS CLARK

THERE are 85,000 workers on strike in the New England textile mills: 8,000 in the cotton mills of the Pawtuxet Valley, and 15,000 in the Blackstone Valley, of Rhode Island; 33,000 in the New Hampshire mills; 13,000 more at Lawrence, Massachusetts; and 16,000 in other New England towns. The walk-out started almost three months ago when the Rhode Island mills put into effect a 20 per cent cut in wages. The strike spread to New Hampshire and Massachusetts as mills in those States followed suit.

Previous textile strikes—particularly in Lawrence—have been matters of force against force: the power of the employers pitted against that of the union. All that the public knew of the conflicts was casualty lists and streamhead stories about riots and disturbances of the peace. The present strike is different. It is a matter of force against facts. The mill-owners are using the power of their economic position to starve the workers into an acceptance of lower wages. But the workers are using facts—facts about the finances of the mills, facts about wages, facts about the cost of living—in support of their refusal to accept.

There are two principal unions involved in the present conflict: the United Textile Workers, the older organization, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the Amalgamated Textile Workers, an independent union. The Amalgamated is in control of the strike in Pawtuxet Valley, Rhode Island. The United is directing the struggle in the Blackstone Valley, Rhode Island, and in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Both unions have put their case to the public, based upon investigations by economists and statisticians.

The Rhode Island mill-owners, the first to cut wages, gave "Southern competition" as the cause. Wages and costs of production in the South, they claimed, were so much lower than in the North that the Northern mills were facing destruction. The unions tried to get the employers to submit the wage issue to public arbitration on this basis. Both unions accepted the chairman of the Rhode Island State Board of Mediation as arbitrator. The employers, however, refused. "Economic necessity," they claimed, dictated the cut. If an arbitrator should decide against a cut they would have to go out of business and that was all there was to it. There was "nothing to arbitrate." This stand of the Rhode Island employers necessitated an appeal to the people by the unions. From that time on, week by week, and as the strike spread northward, the two unions have made public in press statements and paid advertisements the economic facts upon which their claims are based. These facts have been centered upon the leading mills in the three strike centers: the Consolidated Textile Corporation in Rhode Island; the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in Manchester, New Hampshire; and the Pacific Mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts.

The real reason for the wage cut in Rhode Island, the Amalgamated Textile Workers claimed, was not "Southern competition" (the Consolidated itself owns at least ten mills in the South), but a reluctance on the part of the Consolidated Corporation and other concerns to "write down again the capital values which they had written up . . . on the expectation, apparently, that the enormous profits of 1916-1920 would continue." The unions made public figures to show that the capitalization of the plants owned by this concern had been inflated to about $46 per spindle while the actual costs of the plants to the Consolidated when it bought them was not more than $22.50 per spindle, and furthermore, that the replacement cost had fallen 30 per cent from peak prices. The union claimed that the Consolidated was under New York banking control, citing among its directors the presidents of the Chase National Bank, the Mechanics and Metals National Bank, and the New York Produce Exchange Bank, as well as directors of many other great corporations, such as the Erie Railroad, Interborough Rapid Transit Company, and the Westinghouse Electric Company. Its issue of $3,000,000 first-mortgage bonds is convertible into common stock in 1941 at $35 a share. These bonds were taken up by a banking syndicate which the union stated "had an interest in seeing that the market value of the stock rises to the inflated book value. The common is now selling on the New York Stock Exchange at $13. . . . Rather than write down again the capital values which they have written up, the interests controlling the corporation have chosen to levy a contribution of $1,000,000 a year on labor by reducing wages."

The Amalgamated made public figures taken from United States Government reports showing that the year 1921, which the mill-owners have called a year of depression, was, in fact, a year of more than normal prosperity. The 1921 profit per pound in yarn manufacturing, for instance, was 4.75 cents as against 4.40 for 1914. The year 1921 seemed a poor one merely in comparison with war profits which reached the amazing level of 28.27 cents in 1920. Of these profits, the union claimed, the workers in the mills have received a diminishing share. In 1914 the workers received 59 per cent of the total income of the industry. In 1919 they received but 47 per cent, and in 1921 only 35.

When the wage reductions were first put into effect the Consolidated Textile Corporation did not make any explanation either to the union or the public. When the union published its analysis of the situation, however, the company finally broke silence. Frederick K. Rupprecht, its president, issued the following statement together with an assertion that production costs were lower in the South than in the North:

> We do not intend to enter into a debate with respect to this, especially when it is entirely evident that the financial affairs of the corporation have been garbled with the intent to mislead the employees now on strike in Rhode Island. . . . The fact is that the capitalization of this company, high or low, has nothing to do with the issues involved in the strike.

The United Textile Workers put their case before the people of New Hampshire in a series of half-page advertisements in the Manchester *Leader*. The union claimed in the first of the series that "Southern competition is an excuse for lower wages, not a reason"; and cited figures showing that in June, 1921, weekly wages in the South averaged $13.99 as against $18.71 in the North, but housing facilities given to Southern operators were worth $4.36 a week. Northern wages were, therefore, but 36 cents a week more than Southern. (The figures were taken from reports of

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the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' research agency, and from the records of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association.) The wage cuts which the Manchester mills propose, the union states, would reduce Northern wages 22.6 per cent *below* Southern wages. "If the present strike fails," the union comments, "the South will doubtless have to make further wage cuts to meet Northern competition."

In the second advertisement the union cited figures showing that in 1920, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, cotton-mill wages in general in the North were lower than wages in any other industry with one exception (furniture manufacturing) and that in 1921, before the present wage cut, cotton-mill wages ($924.20 a year, full time) did not yield enough income to meet the cost of living as determined by any budget study ever made—even by the employers themselves. "These statistics, in human terms, mean this," says the union: "If there is a family, the wife or children of a man working in a cotton mill must also work in the mills to maintain existence at the lowest level of mere subsistence. If there are children under fourteen the mother must leave them without care, or the family must go into debt or undergo slow starvation. What will 10 or 20 per cent off such wages mean?"

In the subsequent advertisements the union analyzed in great detail the financial condition of the Amoskeag Mills, the leading New Hampshire concern. The net profits per dollar of sales were shown to have increased steadily from 3 cents in 1917 to 19 cents in 1919 and to have been 5½ cents in 1921—considerably above the pre-war normal level. In the meantime, however, capitalization was increased eight times by stock-dividend distributions. The ratio of profit in the last five years has been nearly double that of 1907-1911, the union claims. "The 1921 profit was higher than the average in 1907-1911 but not high enough to satisfy the company now. For meanwhile profits have been capitalized and there are now eight times as many pieces of paper (called shares) to pay dividends on. These pieces of paper were given away as stock dividends, but they were actually paid for by the public which bought Amoskeag cloth at prices high enough to yield the profit, and by Amoskeag workers who got wages which were low enough to yield the profit." The trustees of Amoskeag, the union further claims, increased the dividend rate from $4.88 to $7.50 in 1921 when the profits of the company actually showed a decrease, and that, at the same time or soon after, they voted to lower wages and lengthen the hours of their mill-hands. "Amoskeag now has a surplus of over $40,000,000," the union states. "Of course, this surplus must not be drawn on to maintain wages at an average of $18 a week; but this surplus can be drawn on to raise dividends to the highest level yet reached."

To all of these contentions the Amoskeag management has made the following laconic reply: "The Amoskeag stands firm, cares nothing for publicity, and has nothing further to say than that."

When the Pacific Mills in Lawrence tried to put into effect a reduction of 20 per cent in wages on March 26 most of their employees walked out. The same day Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers, made public the reasons for the walk-out:

> The strike would never have been called if the company had treated its workers with a degree of justice which would stand comparison with the company's generosity to its stockholders. In 1921, a year of depression, the Pacific Mills paid to its stockholders enough to have given every one of its employees a 25 per cent wage increase instead of the 20 per cent cut they are trying to force upon us. This company paid out $3,400,000 in dividends in 1921 and continued the same rate in the first quarter of 1922—12 per cent a year. They have a surplus of over $14,000,000—enough to pay the entire wages of their operatives for a year without a penny of other income and at the end of the year they would have a surplus remaining equal to more than 25 per cent of their capitalization.

Mr. McMahon stated that the union would be glad to submit its claims to impartial arbitration.

Three days later the Pacific Company issued a statement to the public that the mills would not arbitrate the wage issue. The statement did not challenge a single one of the figures cited by Mr. McMahon. The only point where the issue was joined was in regard to an increase in capitalization which the union had stated was effected by a stock-dividend distribution, but which was in fact brought about by a sale. On April 1 Edwin Farnham Greene, treasurer of the firm, issued a lengthy supplementary statement. Mr. Greene cited lower labor costs in mills owned by the same firm in the South, spoke of poorer business in worsteds, again denied the distribution of stock dividends, said that the firm had not sufficient working capital and had been "a continuous borrower from the banks," and claimed that wages, with the reduction, were 80 per cent above the pre-war level. Mr. Greene did not, however, attempt to refute the union's claim that present wages could be maintained with but a relatively slight sacrifice to the stockholders, and he did not express any willingness to submit the case for the mills to impartial arbitration.

To sum up: The unions involved in the present strike have made what seems to be an honest and an earnest attempt to take the public into their confidence. For the first time in textile history the unions have sought to get at the economic facts of their own and their employers' condition, and have spent both time and money to bring these facts to public attention. Both unions, in every locality where their members are on strike, have offered to submit the wage question to impartial arbitration. The mill-owners, on the other hand (with the possible exception of the Pacific Mills), have refused even to state the facts as they see them to the unions or to the public through the press. All the mill-owners, including the Pacific Mills, have refused thus far to submit their case to arbitration. Apparently the employers are still determined to rely solely upon the power of time and their own superior economic resources to bludgeon the workers to their spindles again. It is textile force against textile facts. The facts seem to be, in the absence of specific contradiction, that the mill-owners want both dividends and deflation—war-time dividends and peace-time deflation.

Contributors to This Issue

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE has for twenty-seven years been the owner and editor of the *Daily and Weekly Gazette* of Emporia, Kansas. He is a contributor to current magazines and the author of "A Certain Rich Man," "The Court of Boyville," "In Our Town," "The Old Order Changeth," and other novels and short stories. From 1912 to 1916 he was a member of the Progressive National Committee and chairman of its Publicity Committee.

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The Opinions of Anatole France

Recorded by PAUL GSELL

Victor Hugo

NO doubt, he was stupid. I agree. But his was the most delicately strung temperament, and in spite of ourselves we still respond to his thrills. We Parnassians have been accused of having tried to explode his reputation. That is not true. We held him in the greatest respect. We even thought of him as the leader of our little group. That was when we were founding the Parnassian movement. We had foregathered many times at Lemerre the publisher's, and the first number of our review was on the eve of publication. We were trying to find something that would draw the attention of the universe to our new-born child.

One of us, I cannot remember who, suggested that we ask Victor Hugo, then in exile in Guernsey, for a prefatory letter. The idea was received with enthusiasm, and we immediately wrote to the illustrious exile. A few days later an extraordinary epistle reached us:

"Young men, I belong to the past: you are the future. I am but a leaf: you are the forest. I am but a flickering taper: you are the rays of the sun. I am but one of the oxen: you are the wise men of the East. I am but a rivulet: you are the ocean. I am but a molehill: you are the Alps. I am . . . etc. . . . etc. . . ."

This went on through four large pages, and was signed Victor Hugo.

Together we read this terrifying missive. At the second line we burst out laughing; at the fourth we were holding our sides; at the tenth we were in convulsions. Catulle Mendès declared that we were the victims of a hateful trick. This eccentric reply could not have come from the great man. Imperial police spies must have intercepted our request and have tried to play a practical joke on us. But we would not be caught.

We took counsel together as to what we should do. The result of this conference was that we corresponded with Juliette Drouet, who was living at the time in Guernsey, near her deity. We confided our mishap to her and our impatience to have a real letter from Victor Hugo.

Six days later we received a reply from Juliette Drouet. The poor woman was heart-broken. The first letter really was from Victor Hugo. His devoted friend assured us of the fact. She was even surprised at our skepticism, for after all, she said, his genius was self-evident in these four pages.

Nevertheless, we did not publish the epistle of the sublime poet. Our pious thought was that it would not do him honor. How naive we were! The gods cannot be dishonored. . . .

Granted that he was not intelligent. His sensitiveness has influenced that of all his contemporaries. What is most characteristic of the man is those intimate impressions which had never been so profoundly analyzed: the feelings of a lover, of a father at the grave of his daughter, of a mother beside the cradle of her child.

> Sa pauvre mère, hélas! de son sort ignorante,
> Avoir mis tant d'amour sur ce frêle roseau,
> Et si longtemps veillé son enfance souffrante,
> Et passé tant de nuits à l'endormir pleurante,
> Toute petite en son berceau!

That is peculiarly his own. And by insisting upon the store each one of us sets upon the secrets of the heart, he modified our souls. He helped to quicken the life of the emotions.

O, I know that many others have reaped the same field, but it was he who bound the sheaves. He was a powerful binder. When one feels with such intensity, intelligence is unnecessary. One has more influence than the cleverest logicians. Even the logicians do nothing more perhaps than express in well-balanced syllogisms the flights of the prophets who are supposed to be lacking in intelligence. . . .

The truth is that what the best poets, the greatest writers, bring back from their travels in the realm of fancy is as nothing beside the treasures accumulated by their predecessors. Victor Hugo is regarded as a wonderful innovator. But just think. He owed ninety-nine hundredths of his genius to others. However original he seems, his versification is traditional. It is the alexandrine. A certain liberty in the caesura and the enjambement, I admit, but still an alexandrine.

Then, his language—did he invent it? Let us go a step further. . . . What would our thoughts be without words? What would words be without the letters which enable us to represent them easily? We do not think enough, my dear friends, about the men of genius who conceived the idea of representing sounds by signs. Yet it was they who rendered possible the dizzy mental gymnastics of the Western world. And those who gradually created speech? Did they not furnish us with the very tissue of our arguments?

Grammatical constructions govern the habits of the mind. So we cannot escape from the influence of those who spoke French before us, who gave it form, and made it famous. Together with their words, their syntax, and their rhythms, we have inherited their ideas, which we scarcely enrich. I was wrong in saying that Victor Hugo owed to others ninety-nine hundredths of his genius. I should have said nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths.

Sarah Bernhardt

SHE was often sublime. Without betraying Racine, she was an entirely different Phèdre. Every generation admires beauties hitherto unknown in the works of great authors. Sarah was our Phèdre.

Do you know that I formerly collaborated with her?

Yes, indeed. That is a long time ago. She invited me to come and see her and talk about a scenario she had planned. In the studio where she received me Maurice Bernhardt, still a child, was playing with a huge Dane. The divine tragedienne was talking. Maurice, seeing the eye of the dog glitter, put out his little hand to grasp this shining object. Naturally the good dog found this game lacking in charm. It turned away, and unintentionally it sent Maurice rolling on the carpet with a slight movement of its back. Maurice yelled. His mother interrupted her conversation to lift him up and console him. After that, to make quite

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sure of being understood, she began her narrative again.

Once more Maurice tried to seize the dog's eye-ball. Once more the Dane knocked Maurice down. Again Mme. Sarah Bernhardt wiped away the tears of her offspring and resumed her story. Maurice fell four times, and four times his mother related the beginning of the scenario. A few days later she was to sail for America.

"Goodby to our lovely collaboration," I said to her.

"Not at all," she replied, "we shall continue our play by correspondence."

"By letter?" I inquired.

"By telegram."

"But you are crossing the ocean."

"The telegrams will be cablegrams, that's all!"

"But," I said again, "you will be traveling in America. I have been told that it is your intention to go right out to the Far West."

"You have been correctly informed. That will not prevent us from going on with our collaboration. Across the silent plains of the Far West I will dispatch redskins who, mounting barebacked and untamed horses, will gallop to the nearest town with the text of my cablegrams."

"But . . ." I ventured.

"You are making mountains out of molehills," she cried, laughingly.

I said goodby to her.

In spite of her desire and mine, our correspondence was not established so easily as she had said. Our collaboration ceased. I was very sorry about it. . . . I suspect those damned redskins of having lost the missives of Mme. Sarah Bernhardt.

The Genoa Fiasco

Geneva, March 7

By ROBERT DELL

THE purpose of the Genoa Conference was to formulate a plan for European self-help. I use the past tense, because the levity of Lloyd George has made the accomplishment of that purpose impossible. The exclusion from the discussions of the Conference of the question of reparations nullifies the original objects of the Conference as agreed on at Cannes, for how can the Conference deal with the problem of the exchange, or discuss the financial conditions necessary to "the restoration of confidence," if one of the primary factors in the present situation is ruled out? America was wise to refuse the invitation to participate. All financiers of all countries agree that the principal causes of the financial and economic chaos existing in Europe are the financial and economic provisions of the peace treaties. Now that the question of reparations is to be excluded from the scope of the Conference, they look upon the situation of Germany, with her mark steadily falling as almost hopeless. And they know well enough that the restoration of Europe depends on the restoration of Germany and Russia, but in particular on that of Germany, since Russia was never a great industrial country.

In its original conception the Genoa Conference was a new departure of which it was possible to hope something. It differed from previous conferences in two respects: first, in the fact that its authors proposed at last to deal with the economic and financial questions with which they should have begun; secondly, in the fact that for the first time all the nations of Europe were to be invited to it on an equal footing. Previous conferences have been conferences only of Allied Powers—except the assemblies of the League of Nations, and even those included neither Germany nor Russia. Out of the Genoa Conference might possibly have come an association of all the states of Europe. It is an open question whether such an association should not have preceded the attempt to form a world association. For Europe is the sick Continent and its restoration to health is a first condition of a healthy world. Nothing but unity can restore it to health and the League of Nations has aggravated the divisions of Europe instead of healing them.

Perhaps it may be useful to recall the agenda of the Genoa Conference as agreed on at Cannes:

1. Examination of the application of the principles contained in the resolution adopted at the Cannes Conference on January 6.
2. Establishment of peace upon a firm basis.
3. Conditions necessary to the restoration of confidence without infringing existing treaties.
4. Financial questions: (a) Coinage and paper money; (b) central banks and issuing banks; (c) public finances in relation to the work of reconstruction; (d) exchange; (e) organization of public and private credits.
5. Economic and commercial questions: (a) Facilities and guaranties for exportation and importation; (b) legal and juridical guaranties for commercial operations; (c) protection of industrial, literary, and artistic property; (d) consular statutes; (e) entry and settlement of foreigners in so far as their economic operations are concerned; (f) technical aid in the work of industrial reconstruction.
6. Transports.

This agenda did not exclude the question of reparations; on the contrary, it implicitly included it, for some of the questions could not be discussed without discussing it. Nor did the agenda exclude "discussion of the peace treaties." Its scope was so wide that it left room for the discussion of almost any matter. It gave the delegates to the Conference that complete freedom that is essential to positive results. The scope of the Conference has now been narrowed by Mr. Lloyd George's acceptance at Boulogne of every important demand contained in M. Poincaré's ultimatum.

This complete capitulation amazed and dismayed reasonable Frenchmen opposed to the insensate policy of their Government, for they knew that if Lloyd George had stood firm and refused any modification of the Cannes program Poincaré would have been obliged to agree. France could not afford to be isolated and excluded from such a conference. It was Benes, the Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, who negotiated Lloyd George's surrender and imposed his own policy on both Poincaré and Lloyd George. His policy was to restrict the Genoa Conference almost entirely to a discussion with Russia.

Czech policy is almost as hostile to Germany as French, but much less hostile to Russia. The Czech dream is the realization of the Panslavist ambition—the domination of the Slavs over Central and Eastern Europe. Benes expects that the Bolsheviks will eventually adopt the Czech program of the suppression of all the Russian border states, except

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Poland and Finland. Poland, which is afraid of a great Russia, is inevitably opposed to this policy, as Rumania must eventually be. Hence the refusal of Poland to enter the Little Entente. Austria's desperate condition has reduced that unhappy country to a position of dependence which favors the Czech schemes. If Poland can be forced into the Little Entente, that will be a check to the alliance between Poland, Hungary, and Rumania, which will sooner or later be the reply to the Panslavist movement. It is essential to the Czech policy that Germany should not recover her strength, for a revived Germany would inevitably head a combination against the attempt at a Slav hegemony.

This is the policy that Benes imposed on Lloyd George and Poincaré. Lloyd George knows little of European history or geography or of economic problems and is incapable of sustained mental effort. He acts on sudden impulses, which control him entirely while they last, but which never last long. His is a hand-to-mouth policy directed to the immediate difficulty of the moment. He is too clever on a point and too stupid on a thesis. Benes is as quick as Lloyd George, and understands the aims, ambitions, and possibilities of the Little Entente thoroughly; he was bound to have the best of it. He probably succeeded with Poincaré because Poincaré is willing to make concessions in regard to Russia to avoid any in regard to Germany.

The Boulogne meeting merely ratified an agreement which Benes had already negotiated. Benes has revealed this by publishing his memorandum of an agreement at which he arrived with Lloyd George before the Boulogne meeting, and which he communicated, after drawing it up, both to Lloyd George and Poincaré. This memorandum follows:

> The organization of the Genoa Conference shall be subject to the following principles: The peace treaties shall not be discussed. Reparations shall not be discussed. The participation of the Soviet representatives in the Conference shall not imply the political recognition of the Soviets. At the beginning of the Conference a committee shall be set up to study the conditions of the immediate resumption of commercial relations with Russia. The acceptance of the resolutions of this committee will enable the states to conclude commercial arrangements or commercial treaties with Russia. The political conditions of *de jure* recognition of Russia will be determined subsequently. This recognition itself will depend on the results of the Conference. The states of the Little Entente and Poland will at once send experts to London to take part semi-officially in the labors of the committee of experts. The League of Nations, without taking in hand the essential work of the Conference, will take part in its proceedings, as will the International Labor Office. As at Porta-Rosa, economic commissions may draft conventions or protocols which the members of the Conference will afterwards have ratified by their governments or parliaments, according to the constitutions of their countries. Finally, the Conference may draft, in the form of a resolution, a clause of non-aggression which would affirm the general wish of Europe for peace. A general convention of non-aggression, that would bind all the members of the Conference, would be preferable to this resolution.

A "clause of non-aggression," apparently a mere pious expression of opinion in favor of peace, seems rather a small mouse to issue from the mountain of a Pan-European congress. The alternative of a general convention is probably mentioned to please Lloyd George, but not insisted upon because Poincaré objects to it. There is good reason to believe that France has already concluded a secret military convention with the Little Entente to maintain the territorial *status quo* in Europe, which is not at all the same thing as a convention of "non-aggression," and might conflict with it. Nothing in this memorandum prevents any of the states represented at the Conference from recognizing the Russian Government before its close, as Benes no doubt desires. On the other hand, Lloyd George has given way on all matters concerning Germany. The Eastern nations will arrive at Genoa to find before them an Allied bloc with a program ready in advance. Free discussion will be impossible and the Conference will be gagged and fettered. This is a return to the methods of the Big Four.

I believe that the victory of Benes and Poincaré has been helped by the tactics of the Russian Government, or of its representative, Karl Radek, who thought it clever to attempt to blackmail England and Germany by menacing them with a Franco-Russian alliance. Radek is apparently on excellent terms with Stinnes, whose representative, Herr Fehrmann, was entertained recently at an official banquet at Moscow. (Krassin, on the other hand, favors Dr. Rathenau, the great enemy of Stinnes, so that Russian Communists are at present divided into partisans of Stinnes and Rathenau.) Having failed to get what he wanted in Germany by his threats, Radek made overtures to France, which led to conversations between him and a representative of the French Government. There were also conversations in Paris with Skobeleff, the unofficial representative there of the Russian Government. In February the *Matin* published a sensational interview with Radek, in which the latter attacked England and Germany and made an open bid for a revival of the old Franco-Russian alliance. It is possible that this *Matin* interview was a trap laid with the connivance of the French Foreign Office to get Radek to commit himself. In any case the French Government seems to encourage these Russian overtures in order to give Poincaré a means of blackmailing Lloyd George by the threat of a Franco-Russian understanding directed against England.

Lloyd George's capitulation does not add to his prestige. Whenever he has seemed to be on the point of making a stand for a sane policy in regard to Germany, he lets Germany down. His shiftiness and "versatility"—to use the favorite euphemism—have caused intense irritation everywhere. There are even Frenchmen who think that a British Prime Minister pursuing a policy frankly and openly opposed to French policy would have stirred up less Anglophobia in France—and Heaven knows that Lloyd George has stirred up enough in that country. Any consistent British policy would be better than these continual quick changes. Even in England Lloyd George seems to be losing ground rapidly. He is again tossing up for his political principles. A general election cannot be far off. It must come by late summer, and more people anticipate it very soon after the Genoa Conference. Had Lloyd George dissolved Parliament in February, he would have had the Irish settlement and the project of the Genoa Conference to his credit. Now both bright hopes are fading. Lloyd George's foreign policy during the last three years has been a succession of brilliantly acclaimed blunders, which he himself has usually tried to rectify when it was too late. His histrionic genius will surely achieve some grandstand conclusion to the Genoa Conference, but it can hardly have real value when the reparations question has carefully been locked away in a safe cupboard. The only real achievement of the Genoa Conference will be its establishment of a precedent for sitting down and talking with Germans and Russians as if they really were human beings.

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In the Driftway

THIS Mrs. Dukofsky of Henry Street, New York, about whom one reads in the public prints, is obviously an undesirable citizen. Thinking that her husband had been underpaid by a certain stable owner, she visited the latter in the hope of collecting the balance. She met with a refusal. Now the proper course would have been to hire a lawyer to bring suit (for which Mrs. Dukofsky had no money) and quietly to bide her time until some months or years later a court of last resort returned a verdict in the stable owner's favor; whereupon the good woman need only pay her lawyer and the court costs, and return home satisfied that she had acted as a good citizen should. Instead Mrs. Dukofsky picked up a chunk of iron, heaved it through the stable owner's $40 plate-glass window, and found herself in a police court with a judge asking if she had any money with which to pay her fine. "No," said Mrs. Dukofsky stolidly, "I got nothing but children." The newspaper account then continues: "The magistrate released her on her own recognizance, pending investigation of the charge." Which charge—that she had broken a plate-glass window or that she had nothing but children? The newspaper does not state. Not that it matters. If guilty of either (and apparently Mrs. Dukofsky was guilty of both), the woman is obviously an undesirable citizen and our courts, as usual, have done full justice in the situation. And yet the Drifter, whose own temperament runs rather toward window smashing than window dressing, finds himself strangely interested in Mrs. Dukofsky and her wealth of children. He finds himself hoping (though not for publication, of course) that the numerous little Dukofskys may somehow prosper in spite of that plate-glass window—and grow up to be chips off the old block.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Request for Whitman Letters

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Believing, like most of the reviewers of my recent Whitman book, that a comprehensive new biography of the poet is needed to incorporate the very considerable amount of new material now available, and encouraged by the suggestion made by several of the most competent of those reviewers that I undertake such a work, I venture to essay the task. I shall be very grateful to any possessors of unpublished Whitman manuscripts or of letters either to or by Whitman who may be willing to cooperate with me to the extent of allowing me to examine such material. It will be promptly copied and returned.

Adelphi College, Brooklyn, March 24 EMORY HOLLOWAY

President Wilson and the Secret Treaties

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It seems almost as though Mr. Lippmann, in his letter to *The Nation* of March 29, had failed to read my article in the New York *Times*, February 26, before criticizing it. Mr. Lippmann's letter contains three propositions, all of which, as he says, I considered before publishing my article. With two of them—that Colonel House knew of the secret treaties, and Secretary Lansing of at least one of them—I agree entirely, and have set forth the facts in my article. If Mr. Lippmann had read the article carefully he would have discovered this. As to the third proposition—"that certain of these points [the fourteen] . . . are unintelligible without reference to the secret treaty between France and Russia"—I have before me the original documents upon which Mr. Wilson formulated the Fourteen Points, which I expect in due course to print. These documents, which Mr. Lippmann himself had a hand in preparing, contain no references to the secret treaties, and Mr. Lippmann is certainly incorrect in asserting that knowledge of the secret treaties was necessary in the preparation of the Fourteen Points.

This is a complicated subject. I have done my best to put down all the facts I had, and shall add certain others though they do not alter my conclusions in the revisions for book publication. I would ask any who are interested to read my articles carefully as a basis of judgment.

Mr. Lippmann apparently believes that President Wilson deliberately prevaricated in his replies to the Senate Committee. Of course he has a perfect right to that belief if he thinks the evidence proves it. I believe, and I think I have the evidence to support my belief, that he told the truth.

Amherst, Mass., March 30 RAY STANNARD BAKER

MR. LIPPMANN'S ANSWER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Baker and I are discussing the question of whether President Wilson could have remained ignorant of the secret treaties for a full year after they had been published in the newspapers, a year during which Mr. Wilson was actively engaged in presenting his views about the terms of peace through a series of public addresses. He agrees that Colonel House knew of the secret treaties during this period, and that Secretary Lansing knew of at least one of them, namely the treaty with Japan in respect to the Pacific Islands. I go further now and assert that Mr. Lansing must have known about the Treaty of London in respect to Italy during the spring of 1918 because he was engaged in active negotiations about it. I refer Mr. Baker to the whole series of maneuvers about the recognition of Jugoslav aspirations. Our Government recognized them ambiguously at the end of May, 1918, definitely at the end of June. I insist that it was impossible for our Government to take a hand in the intricate dealings with Italy on the Jugoslav question without having cognizance of the central fact in the discussion—the Treaty of London.

To be sure these negotiations were conducted in Mr. Lansing's name, and Mr. Baker is at liberty to believe that Mr. Wilson did not know the facts about an American policy which had as its objective the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But I believe that Mr. Wilson knew about the Treaty of London at that time, knew about it because everybody else did. In the text of the memorandum used by Colonel House in the pre-armistice negotiations I find the Treaty of London referred to as a matter of course.

I believe further that the man who wrote Article IX of the Fourteen Points knew the substance of the Treaty of London. He wrote that "a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along *clearly recognizable lines of nationality*." I submit that these words were not a leap in the dark but a clear diplomatic reference to the imperialistic lines laid down in the Treaty of London.

I believe further that the man who wrote Article VIII had read the secret treaty between France and Russia, and knew that France would claim, as she did claim, the inclusion of the Saar Valley in "Alsace-Lorraine" and some kind of veiled annexation of the Rhineland.

Naturally I take Mr. Baker's word for it that he has not found the maps and documents elucidating French and Italian aspirations as revealed by the secret treaties published in the American press before the Fourteen Points were written. But I repeat that Articles VIII and IX are unintelligible except on the assumption that their author understood the secret treaties. It is admitted that Colonel House knew of the secret treaties.

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It is undeniable that within a few months Secretary Lansing was discussing two of the most important of these treaties. The presumption of the President's complete ignorance through this whole period, beginning with the Inter-Allied Conference in the autumn of 1917, coming through the Brest-Litovsk parleys, Mr. Lloyd George's speech, the Fourteen Points speech, Mr. Lansing's Jugoslav policy, and the pre-armistice debates—I say President Wilson's complete ignorance is to me unthinkable.

There remains President Wilson's statement to the Senate Committee. Mr. Baker more or less invites me to say whether I think the President told the truth when he denied knowledge of the secret treaties before he went to Paris. It is a puzzling question. Mr. Wilson's denial is so positive, the presumption to the contrary is so strong, that I can well understand that Mr. Baker should find the subject "complicated." I take the liberty, therefore, of tentatively suggesting an hypothesis which in the light of all the facts seems to me the most plausible.

It is that Mr. Wilson was unofficially cognizant of the treaties and officially ignorant of them, that he deliberately chose not to have them officially communicated to him so as to avoid either the diplomatic controversy or the diplomatic recognition which official communication would have involved. I think this is the probable truth of the matter, and before publishing his book I think Mr. Baker would do well to test out this hypothesis. He can, I believe, find people who actually discussed the treaties with President Wilson who would support this interpretation.

Finally, I wish to say that *The Nation's* caption on my letter was misleading. I do not think Mr. Baker guilty of "misrepresentation." There is no more transparently honest journalist than Ray Stannard Baker. But in this instance his own utter sincerity has, I think, made him too credulous to be the chronicler of a sinister history.

New York City, April 4 WALTER LIPPMANN

What Happened to Haddock

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of March 8 you have an editorial paragraph dealing with the murder of Mrs. Fannie Sellins, which murder was done by deputy sheriffs of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. What I wish to call to your attention is that W. S. Haddock, who was at that time sheriff of the county, does not now hold elective office in this county. According to law he could not run for reelection to the office of sheriff, but sought the nomination for coroner. Not only did labor line up against Mr. Haddock at the primaries last September but the Negro vote as well. The Negroes were against him on account of the tactics used by him in attempting to apprehend a Negro suspected of the murder of a white woman. Mr. Haddock was decisively defeated.

This white woman, Mrs. Annie Kirker, was murdered and a Negro, one Joe Thomas, was apprehended and indicted for the murder. He escaped and was advertised for as a "Negro" who was wanted for the "murder" and "rape" of "an American White Woman." Negroes took exception to this kind of exploiting of color, race, and nationality by public servants. Months later they almost unconsciously joined with the labor forces and retired Sheriff Haddock to private life.

But our county commissioners partially removed the sting of defeat by creating the job of County Purchasing Agent at $5,000 per year and appointing Ex-Sheriff Haddock to fill it.

Pittsburgh, March 14 ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

The Pro-English *Nation*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Because I believe that De Valera is one of the very few men of note who is fighting for God and Humanity, I am requesting you to discontinue sending me your pro-English sheet.

Farley, Iowa, March 26 PAUL T. LOGUE

The Church Gets a Dusting!

Painted Windows

By "A Gentleman With a Duster"

The famous author of "The Mirrors of Downing Street" charges that the Church in England has lost its moral leadership, largely through the intellectual decadence of those to whom the people look for spiritual guidance. Illuminating biographies of twelve of the great leaders of religious thought. A book that will be widely read, vigorously condemned, severely criticized, warmly praised and extensively quoted. Twelve portraits. $2.50

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A book of bitter truths about prison life in America. The author, now an eminent sociologist, reveals the prison system in all its stark nakedness. In 1914 he led a group of jobless men into a church and demanded work. For this he was tried, convicted and sentenced to a year in the penitentiary. $2.00

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THE DRAGON IN SHALLOW WATERS

By V. Sackville-West

In reviewing this book for the New York Times, Amy Lowell, who confesses to finding it difficult to read the average novel through, says: "The other day I had a sensation—I came across a novel which I actually read from the first page to the last. The book is Miss V. Sackville-West's 'The Dragon in Shallow Waters' . . . What is this book? An allegory, if you like; a tale of savage irony, if you see it that way. It is realism gone mad, or a fairy tale impinging pathetically upon the confines of the life we know. Here is horror, beauty, death, yearning, weakness, frustration, and new grass springing up where the old has burned." $2.00

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The Roving Critic

Creative Reading

AS surely as there is such a thing as creative writing there is such a thing as creative reading. That it is not very common appears from the universal demand for fiction, in which the creative process has already been applied to the material in hand, so that the reader is called upon to contribute very little himself. Indeed, if the writer of fiction is strong enough he can carry his more compliant readers to almost any distance from the world of their experience and can persuade them to accept as its equal or as its superior some merely invented region. To go so far with a romancer is not, as is often thought, a necessary sign that the reader is imaginative: he may be only limp or uncritical, unable to hold his own in the presence of a more powerful fancy. Children are regularly beguiled in this fashion, as are the credulous of all ages by travelers and politicians and priests who have a romantic turn of mind. The creative reader, however, begins to build the minute he begins to read. In varying degrees, of course, he leans upon his writer, but he takes profit from his book in proportion to the amount of creative energy he puts into it. Perhaps the simplest illustration of this is to be noted in the fact that one reads a book with different results at different times. A reader, for instance, who has never been in love cannot find in a play or poem, a novel or biography portraying the effects of love, more than a fraction of what he would find there if he had genuinely known the passion. Another who has thought the history of some foreign country dull may discover that it is fascinating after he has visited that country. And still another may suddenly perceive a large pertinence in ideas or speculations which heretofore have left him cold: he has in his own person caught up with them, and now greets them heartily for the first time though they have been there in the book all the time.

The notion that unhappy men and women employ reading as an anodyne is not quite accurate. With them reading furnishes more than a substitute for thought; it furnishes them the occasion to set going in their minds a dance of images, a sequence of ideas, a march of memories which run parallel to the matter of the book, and to which the book, indeed, may be but the exciting cause. Neither is it quite accurate to say that inveterate readers, happy or unhappy, lead their lives within the pages of this volume or that for want of the more robust outlet which action affords those who do not care to read, or at least to read so much. Rather, such readers may be full of creative impulses which they prefer to exercise in a purer and more plastic universe than they have found elsewhere. There happens to be no standard by which to measure the relative value of the forces which are released by action and of those which are released by contemplation. If the man of action is associated in his career with other active persons, why may not the man of contemplation be equally associated in his with others whose society he enjoys through the medium of printed words? As there are men of action who drive blindly forward, without thought, to some goal which they hardly see though their instincts urge them in that general direction, so there are men of contemplation who drift with the tide of some—or any—poet or historian or philosopher without critical resistance; but the creative reader challenges, disputes, denies, fights his way through his book, and he emerges to some extent always another person. He has been a creator while he seemed to be merely passive and recipient.

To take another easy illustration, a scholar engaged in actual research may wade through rivers and climb mountains of books while in the pursuit of proofs for his thesis, and may yet at every step be full of creative fire, throwing aside what he does not need and choosing what he does as emphatically as if he were a soldier on the most difficult campaign. The researcher is but a common type of creative reader, his process and his aim being more readily comprehensible than those of the other types but not essentially unlike them. All creative readers have at any given moment some conscious or unconscious thesis which they are seeking to prove, some conscious or unconscious picture they desire to complete, some conscious or unconscious point they mean to reach if they can. By it they are sustained through what would be unendurable labor to another, or even to them at an earlier or a later day. It gives them resoluteness, it gives them form. More potent than has been ordinarily recognized, it belongs with that faculty whereby the mind arranges its impressions in some sort of order and comes to some kind of conclusion without always consulting the will or even inviting the consciousness to be aware of what is going on.

The token by which the creative reader can best be known is his lack of the pedantic expectation with which many readers of considerable taste begin to read. For instance, there was that professorial critic, for whom no pillory can be too high or naked or windy, who declared he could not approve of "The Playboy of the Western World" because it was neither tragedy nor comedy nor tragi-comedy. He did not create as he read; he could not even follow a free representation of human life; he was tied brain and mood to a prejudice which shut him in from any liberation by novel wit or beauty. Like many better men, he was a victim of an obsession for the classics into which creative readers never allow themselves to fall. They may have formed their literary principles upon the strictest canon and they may be richly responsive to the great traditions of style and structure; but they have not been made timid by their training and they know that the heartiest reader, like the heartiest spectator of human affairs, must occasionally have his fling outside narrow circles or must begin to stifle. It is as snobbish to feel at home only among the "best" books as to feel at home only among the "best" people. After all, the best books have been made up out of diverse elements, transmuted by some creative spirit from the raw materials which lay around. The reader who in some degree can share that spirit's vision can share also its delight in the same sort of original stuff. Imagine, for example, the state of mind of a person who can argue that it is a weakness, if not a literary impropriety, to prefer Goethe's conversations with Eckermann at times to "Faust."

There are very proper moods which the noblest work of art cannot satisfy as well as some casual memoir, some naive history or book of travel, some halting speculation, some mere array of facts. Who has not preferred the nasturtiums or turnips of his own garden to more sumptuous flowers or vegetables from the open market? The pleasant odors of many mornings and the color of many fine sunsets cling about the blossoms which he has tended; the plain roots from his soil have in them the savor of honest sweat and the contour of agreeable hopes. So the creative reader likes frequently to shape his own designs and make his own conclusions out of raw materials which no other hand—however better he may know it is—has worked with. In fact, it is now and then hard for a reader in the full strength of some creative impulse to keep himself as aware of the positive aesthetic merit of what he is reading as perhaps he should. If the matter of life is there in large abundance he may overlook the lack of form and proportion and interpretation because he is himself able to supply them. It is for this reason that generous spirits like Sir Walter Scott, and even more rigid critics, seem often to have gone too far in their praise of this or that book which has not survived or pleased as much as they expected; they were misled by finding in the book an element of creation which they had contributed but which colder readers do not find there. If criticism, professional or amateur, were an exact science, practiced in a vacuum, the creative reader by his vagaries might deserve the accusation of being a sort of astrologer among the scientists; but it is not, and so his more creative vagaries must be classed less with the winds of bad doctrine than with the breath of life.

CARL VAN DOREN

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Books

Whitman in Extremis

Walt Whitman in Mickle Street. By Elizabeth Leavitt Keller. Mitchell Kennerley. $2.50.

IN two hundred small pages Mrs. Keller, who for ten weeks preceding Whitman's death was his trained nurse, has told the most connected story of his last years that has yet been published. A narrative of this prosaic period, written from the angle of nurse and housekeeper who seem to appreciate little of Whitman as a writer, is necessarily incomplete in many ways. But Mrs. Keller writes with a woman's eye for material details, which caused the editor of *Putnam's Magazine*, on publishing her admirable and sympathetic reminiscences of the poet's "last phase" some twelve years ago, to compare her style to that of Defoe. For one whose first volume appears on her eighty-second birthday, she writes with such vivid directness, in fact, that the casual reader is liable to forget that she could not have been an eye-witness to any considerable part of the story she tells.

Nor did she obtain her information chiefly from Mrs. Mary Davis, Whitman's housekeeper, whom the narrative concerns even more than it does Whitman himself. Had that been the case, the heroine of the book would remain in the mind as a "thoroughly good woman" who, victimized by her unbusinesslike nature, her meekness of spirit, and her inordinate desire to sacrifice herself in the service of others, was unable to take care of herself when chance threw her within the influence of the rather unbusinesslike nature of Whitman, but who has posthumously vindicated herself through the chivalrous pen of another. Such, however, was not the case. Many of the facts Mrs. Keller has learned from the testimony given in the trial when Mrs. Davis sued Whitman's estate for five thousand dollars (practically all the cash he left), a suit in which Mrs. Keller appeared as a witness for the plaintiff. Many other links in the story were taken, by quotation or paraphrase, from a few earlier books on Whitman, especially Donaldson, Kennedy, and "*In Re* Walt Whitman." And as a sort of tail-piece is reprinted from *Pearson's Magazine*, without acknowledgment, an essay by Mr. Guido Bruno, who lends the life of print to unsavory gossip about Whitman in order (one infers) to display his affection for the poet by professing a disbelief in that gossip. But though the material of the little book is thus of diverse origin, the earnest simplicity of Mrs. Keller's style makes the reader feel that he is perusing actual memoirs, rather than biography written by one who is untrained in the collecting and weighing of evidence. After the book had been written and rewritten three times, the author came to realize, and frankly admitted in her preface, that it is really a case of special pleading for Mrs. Davis.

In defending the housekeeper as one unjustly treated, it may well be, then, that Mrs. Keller unintentionally or unconsciously distorted the picture of Whitman into that of either a callous or a calculating ingrate, less by what she said than by what she failed to say. "Did I ever write one word to the detriment of Whitman?" she naively asks, in a letter written to me since the publication of the book. Let it be said that the truth about a man of Whitman's caliber must be told, whether detrimental to his reputation or not. And since Mrs. Davis obtained a judgment amounting to ten per cent of her claim, it appears that, whether or not Whitman lived up to the bargain whereby he was to exchange house-room for board, he did not share with her in perfect equity the financial expenses of the partnership, since he received far more than board. But that fact does not necessarily cast a reflection on his motives. Henceforth, I trust, it will not be considered legitimate to surmise that the old poet was "hoarding" his income chiefly in order to build himself a magnificent tomb as a monument to his vanity. This theory would have been rendered impotent long ago but for the modesty of the only man who could have told the whole truth about that much-discussed tomb. Whitman's lawyer and friend, the late Thomas B. Harned, left autobiographical memoranda which state clearly that the grave cost Whitman, not four or five thousand dollars (though the overreaching builders tried to swindle him out of a still larger amount), but fifteen hundred dollars, a perfectly proper sum for him to spend on a large family vault. To be sure, the builders were finally paid more than that, how much even Whitman never knew; but the difference was quietly paid by Mr. Harned himself. And as to the rest of Whitman's cash, that was saved for no vain or selfish purpose, but to relieve the distress of members of the poet's family whose claims upon his resources were older and more intimate, even if perhaps no more just, than those of Mrs. Davis—a sister whose husband was worthless as a provider and an imbecile brother who was being cared for privately.

However poor and lonesome Whitman may have appeared to Mrs. Davis after purchasing the Mickle Street house, his plight was voluntary, since two or three homes were open to him, and cannot be said to have placed any obligation on her charity that she should go beyond her own inclinations, either in agreeing to live with him or in remaining with him when to do so proved to be contrary to her own interest. We shall have to reserve judgment as to whether Whitman's friends, in their anxiety for him, brought the pressure of undue persuasion to bear upon Mrs. Davis, since the last of them is now dead and cannot reply to the charges. (The unfortunate failure to publish the book until after the deaths of Traubel and Harned, however, was not due, as I happen to know, to any fault on the part of Mrs. Keller.) But why did Mrs. Davis stay? Mrs. Keller offers a number of reasons, but perhaps she gives the strongest when she says, in another connection, that Whitman "certainly had gained a great influence over her." It appears that it was not easy, even for one whose mind was hopelessly beyond its depth in reading Whitman's poetry, to relinquish the personal friendship of the kindly old bard. And as to her unremitting and unselfish attentions to him and his friends, recorded by nearly every biographer, these Whitman probably accepted as he did the gifts and ministrations of others, as a welcome tribute to himself. It was consonant with all that was childlike in his nature that, having given himself so generously to the world without respect of persons, he should in his need have accepted similar services from the world, without asking himself too scrupulously whether he had a commensurate claim upon each particular individual who was willing to befriend him.

EMORY HOLLOWAY

Peace at Paris

A History of the Peace Conference of Paris. Edited by H. W. V. Temperley. Volumes IV and V. Oxford University Press. $18.

THE first three volumes of this monumental work, it will be recalled, were mainly devoted to so much of the work of the Paris Conference as had to do with the elaboration of the Treaty of Versailles. The two additional volumes now published deal with the overthrow of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and the organization of the new states built upon its ruins. A sixth volume, completing the work, will include the British Dominions, the United States, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Japan, the Shantung question, and the League of Nations. It is to be hoped that a consolidated index to the series, more detailed than the indexes which have been provided for the several volumes, may also be added, since the work is likely to be used more for reference than for continuous reading.

It is impossible within any reasonable limits of space to do much more than indicate the principal contents of the two volumes just issued. While the general plan of treatment is similar to that followed in Volumes I to III there are, as the

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editor points out, some important differences due to the different character of the events described. In the case of Germany the main problem both of the war and of the peace conference was the defeat of a great military Power and the imposition of penalties. The same problem on a small scale presented itself in the case of Bulgaria. The Austro-Hungarian settlement, on the other hand, involved the dissolution of a dual monarchy whose disintegration was already prepared by long-existing racial and nationalistic rivalries, and the erection of four new states in addition to Austria and Hungary themselves. The narrative of the military defeat of Austria-Hungary, accordingly, is supplemented by an account of the internal conditions which rendered long aggression or resistance hopeless, and of the growth of nationalism among the Jugoslavs, Czecho-Slovaks, and Rumanians (Poland, as has been said, is reserved for the final volume) during the war period.

Following this comes a discussion of the armistice agreements imposed upon Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary and of the treaties with Bulgaria and the new Austria and Hungary, the story of the formation of the states of Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania, and accounts of the readjustment of the Italian frontier and the recognition of Albania under the secret Treaty of London, and of the plebiscites in Teschen and other areas. Volume IV, which includes all of these matters, closes with brief summaries of recent political developments in the new Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, the narrative being brought down in general to March, 1921. The narrative portion of Volume V is given up to discussions of the reparation and financial clauses of the Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian treaties and of the commercial policy which those treaties embodied, and to an examination of the various treaty provisions for the protection of minorities. About two-thirds of the volume and a part of the preceding one are taken up with the texts of the several treaties, skilfully arranged to facilitate analysis and comparison, the texts of numerous documents connected with the negotiations, and statistical tables and summaries. There are also a number of useful sketch maps illustrating boundary controversies.

The student who turns the pages of these volumes in the hope of finding new light on the attitude of the Three or the Four or the Five will be on the whole disappointed, for on that elusive subject the work has not much to offer. The bearing of Mr. Wilson's theories upon certain settlements is from time to time acutely referred to, but in general the personal views of the inner circle are but little in evidence. The influence of public opinion also, as distinguished from the opinions of individual politicians or propagandist groups, does not play a large part in the narrative, mainly because, as the editor points out, any attempt to estimate the weight of public opinion in the diverse parts of so huge and complicated a task as confronted the Paris Conference would be a wellnigh impossible undertaking. What the writers and compilers of these volumes have done, on the other hand, is to exhibit very fully the course of events and the views of the conference experts. Whatever opinion one may hold regarding the competency or the attitude of the expert bodies upon which the ultimate makers of the peace more or less relied, the independent temper of those who have cooperated with Mr. Temperley in the present work is praiseworthy. Some of the most crucial tests, however, will be presented when the issues reserved for Volume VI —Poland, Russia, Shantung, and Turkey—come to be considered, and a final judgment upon the spirit of the work as a whole must, accordingly, be reserved.

The names of two American advisers at Paris, Professor A. C. Coolidge of Harvard and Professor A. A. Young of Cornell, appear in the list of contributors to these volumes, Professor Young being responsible for the admirable section on the commercial policy of the German and other treaties. The public-spirited action of Mr. T. W. Lamont in making possible the publication of the work should not go unnoticed.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Humbug

Humbug. A Study in Education. By E. M. Delafield. The Macmillan Company. $2.

IT is a pity that one of the most interesting and honest talents in recent British literature shows no gain in either depth or power. "Consequences" remains Miss Delafield's best book; "Tension" her next best. In "The Heel of Achilles" she dropped almost into the melodramatic; "Humbug" is cleaner in workmanship, but her tenseness shows slackening and her peculiar acridness has lost some of its sting.

In Miss Delafield's sense the subject is a great and burning one. Poor Lily Stellenthorpe, the heroine of "Humbug," makes a quite hopeless hash of her life—the final note of resignation convinces no one—because in her childhood and youth she had been systematically deceived as to the nature of reality. Her father never uttered a conscious falsehood and was constitutionally incapable of uttering a truth. Life went on in a world of soggy pieties and loyalties. There was not even—as there commonly is not nowadays—the force of a strong metaphysical tradition. The children were indeed told that God would be angry. But that was, like everything else, a mere bloodless formulary for enforcing a system of proprieties and decencies the purpose of which was not, as those who resist the modern spirit plead, to restrain the wildness of nature, but to obscure the character of that reality within which men and women, however wildly or tamely, must exercise their powers. No wonder that Lily has neither vision nor spiritual rod or staff, that she desists from all action, and drifts fearfully and hesitatingly into marrying the utterly wrong man. We have a suspicion, indeed, that Miss Delafield does not exhaust the misfortunes of the pathetic life she delineates and that the cognitions which Lily is said to have acquired in the course of the years were laid on by the author from without.

The study of the relations between Lily and her husband is curious and significant. There was nothing wrong with Nicholas Aubrey. He was a clever man and a very kind one. Only he made no appeal to Lily's deeper instincts and he had a way of prolonging his laughter unnecessarily that rasped her nerves. But since she had been taught that it is disloyal to dislike anything about those to whom one is tied by the bonds of blood or duty, she stifled the warnings in her own heart and imputed the danger signals with which nature had provided her to faults in her moral being. In this analysis Miss Delafield probes deeply. Lily is like a person in a fever who, instead of inquiring into its cause and cure, declares it to be wrong to have a fever and perishes, on the highest moral principles, of the ensuing disease. Only Miss Delafield's breadth and richness are not equal to her perspicacity, and thus the study she gives us leaves a final effect as of something squeezed and poverty-stricken. There is no question on the other hand but that, in common with several others among the younger British novelists, she is capable of a cool and tonic perception of the real causes of things that is not often found in our richer, more vivid, but also more turbid fiction.

The difference is an interesting one. Mr. Sherwood Anderson, for instance, who has a touch of genius, writhes in his creative moods and agonizes through parable and allegory to reach mysteries that are to Miss Delafield as plain as the proverbial pikestaff. Even Mr. Hergesheimer has an air of proclaiming heresies and daring greatly. Miss Delafield has a briskness and a mathematical clarity and accuracy that leave them both as though caught in unnecessary toils. Yet she never has a touch of their spiritual wealth, or the sense, in their works, of profound ideas and perceptions yet beyond their reach. Perhaps it is, then, her intellectual mastery of life that impoverishes her work. To understand too thoroughly is to be in danger of falling into silence. For the full urge toward artistic expression there must be a depth unsounded and a mystery ahead.

L. L.

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Notable New Books

The Psychic Life of Insects. By E. L. Bouvier. Century. $2.
A fascinating study of insect behavior which is written in a less anthropomorphic language than might be guessed from the title.

Peacock's Four Ages of Poetry; Shelley's Defence of Poetry; Browning's Essay on Shelley. Edited by H. F. B. Brett-Smith. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50.
Three famous essays beautifully printed and admirably edited as No. 3 of the Percy Reprints.

The Three Musketeers. By Alexander Dumas. Translated by William Robson. With 250 illustrations by Maurice Leloir. Appleton. $3.
An incomparable romance of adventure, the very quintessence of swashbuckling, incomparably illustrated. It will be noted that the recent motion-picture version of the story, with Douglas Fairbanks, relied almost altogether for its make-up and costume upon the brilliant pictures of Leloir.

Abroad with Mark Twain and Eugene Field. By H. W. Fisher. N. L. Brown. $2.25.
Sketchy, scratchy gossip by a newspaper correspondent with a remarkable instinct for the cheap and the trivial.

The Forsyte Saga. By John Galsworthy. Scribner. $2.50.
This noble volume, including "The Man of Property," "The Indian Summer of a Forsyte," "In Chancery," "The Awakening," "To Let," in the order given, is worth all the rest of Galsworthy put together. Nowhere else in the whole range of English fiction has the propertied class of the Islands been given with such knowledge, accuracy, and distinction.

Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century. Edited by H. J. C. Grierson. Oxford. $3.
"Metaphysical Poetry . . . is a poetry which . . . has been inspired by a philosophical conception of the universe and the role assigned to the human spirit in the great drama of existence." This collection is admirably chosen and edited and beautifully printed.

Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1846-1906. Edited by Mary Thacher Higginson. Houghton Mifflin. $4.
Pleasant memorials of a man who saw some great events but was always mild and minor, like the sweet cider of his native district.

Angels and Ministers. By Laurence Housman. Harcourt, Brace. $1.50.
Four shrewd, pungent, amusing plays presenting certain eminent Victorians in that sort of light which Lytton Strachey said "Let there be."

Matthew Prior. By L. C. Wickham Legg. Cambridge University (Macmillan). $7.
A faithful study, made from original documents, of the public and diplomatic career of one of the most charming of English writers of familiar verse.

Letters on Contemporary American Authors. By Martin MacCollough. Four Seas.
A wide-awake little survey, calculated from the meridian of Mencken.

The Modern Library: *Men, Women, and Boats.* By Stephen Crane; *Contemporary Science.* Edited by Benjamin Harrow; *Tales of Mean Streets.* By Arthur Morrison; *Passages from the Diary of Samuel Pepys.* Edited by Richard Le Gallienne. Boni and Liveright. 95 cents each.
Worthy additions to an invaluable series.

The American Credo. By George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Knopf.
869 instead of the original 488 vulgar errors noted by two clever men as current among their countrymen.

A Magnificent Farce and Other Diversions of a Book-Collector. By A. Edward Newton. Atlantic Monthly. $4.
Learned, candid, confidential, and beguiling gossip about the author's magnificent career as collector which comes up to the expectations aroused by his earlier "Amenities of Book-Collecting."

Poems 1918-21. By Ezra Pound. Boni and Liveright. $2.
Now witty, now pretty, now dull, now absurd.

General Robert E. Lee After Appomattox. Edited by F. L. Riley. Macmillan. $2.50.
A collection of essays by various persons all dealing with Lee's dignified career as president of Washington and Lee University.

Moral Emblems and Other Poems. By Robert Louis Stevenson. Scribner. $1.25.
Certain piquant verses which Stevenson wrote and illustrated with woodcuts for his stepson to print at Davos-Platz.

Dante Studies. By Paget Toynbee. Oxford. $7.20.
Masterly investigations in minute points of Dante scholarship, particularly emphasizing the influence of the poet in England.

The American Indian. By Clark Wissler. Oxford University. $5.
The second edition, revised, of a remarkably sound, compact, and enlightened book.

Drama

The Two Comedies

WE have no American comedy comparable to the sketches of Miss Ruth Draper. As comedy of manners they are mere perfection. Hearing her one is grateful for the mechanism that will transmit to future periods this consummately skilful and exact record of speech, manner, foible. How our minds and imaginations would be enriched if we had such records of an eighteenth-century slavey and dowager, farm wife and citizen's wife as Miss Draper gives us of the New York factory girl, the chairwoman of the board of lady managers, the old wife from the coast of Maine, the Harlemite at the art exhibition. The notation of characteristic diction, the reproduction of characteristic speech-sounds has never, assuredly, gone beyond this. Nor must it be forgotten that Miss Draper is the sole author of her own sketches. She is not merely an interpretative artist. She is a creative one. Yet like the art of the novel or the play which is strictly a novel or a play of manners hers is perilously close to the purely mimetic. During an entire afternoon Miss Draper gave but one touch—the chairwoman's remarks on condensed milk for orphan babies—that rose from imitation to interpretation, from observation to criticism, from a reproduction of manners to a glimpse into those regions of the moral being from which manners arise. Thus I had, throughout, the strong impression of Miss Draper's disdain of any profound and passionate identification of herself with her material, of her essential aloofness, and so her art at many moments transformed itself to me into a dexterity almost as barren as it is brilliant. This is judging her on the highest plane. But on that plane she must be judged. Only I seemed to hear Yvette Guilbert's hoarse little ditty about "la pauvre innocente" and her broken introductory remarks, and then, suddenly, Miss Draper's sketches seemed enormously fluent portraits—wonderful resemblances —not much deeper than the paint, while through Yvette's odd croon came a vision of the soul itself and the body itself and

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the basic tragi-comedy of man. All this does not mean, of course, that Miss Draper is not immensely clever and delightful, gifted and acute. . . .

That was the afternoon. Evening brought "The Green Ring" from the Russian of Zinaida Hippius at the Neighborhood Playhouse. The performance was both a trifle ragged and a trifle strained, unhappy, almost hysterical in key. The translation of the play quite obviously—one needed not to know the original to be sure of that—missed the rightness of all delicate shadings and gave us noise and sometimes unnecessary laughter in place of the melancholy smile that Mme. Hippius originally evoked. For the play is the tragi-comedy of youth and the discussions of the young creatures of the "green ring" circle are, in reality, neither arrogant nor funny. They are, in essence, profoundly true and immeasurably important. The rather sad comedy arises from the facts that all or nearly all these young people were fated—we get hints and indications—to fall into all the errors of their elders so soon as they came to be in the grip of the world's power and of the instincts that make for cruelty and confusion. And the higher comedy of the play is in that contrast, of course, between the clear, right, beautiful perceptions of these adolescents and the muddled lives which nearly all of them are fated to lead. Thus when Roussya was telling Sonia that she must not love her father and mother mercilessly but tolerantly, not enslavingly but beautifully, there was a moment of great depth and pathos and wisdom and of that distribution of tragic guilt which is the peculiar function of the drama of our period. But I am afraid that Roussya's speech seemed to many merely an example of the amusing paradox-mongering of bright young people who will grow to be sensible by and by, while to Mme. Hippius the pathos lay in the fact that both Roussya and Sonia would probably lose the lovely wisdom of their youth and make of love the snare and the slavery which their elders were making of it. In brief, the defeat of youth was made to seem a little like a "happy ending," whereas to Mme. Hippius it seems precisely the saddest of all things. For her play, though a play of manners too, though undoubtedly very accurate in the treatment of surfaces, uses those surfaces only as what in the deepest sense they are—signs and symbols of the life of the soul which cannot otherwise be externalized. And hence the point of her comedy is not in the quaintness or interest or plastic attractiveness of these surfaces, but in the discrepancy between perception and action, truth and custom, the valiancy of youth and its self-betrayal as youth is caught, in each successive generation, in the web of the world's business and the corruptness of its supposed necessities.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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APRIL 19th: AMY MURRAY (author of FATHER ALLAN'S Island), will read her new mystery play "THE SHEPHERD FROM OUTBY" preceded by Hebridean songs sung to the Celtic Harp. ADMISSION 50 cents and tax.

WHO IS YOUR GOD?

Jew, Catholic, Protestant or whoever you may be, if you approve of the Ten Commandments, your God is Jehovah. For the first Commandment—as the Hebrew text reproduced herewith shows—plainly reads: "I am Jehovah, Thy God."

Exodus, xx:2.

אנכי יהוה אלהיך

To approve of the principles of the Commandments and disapprove of Jehovah means not only the repudiation of Jehovah, but also of the rest of the Commandments as well as of one's own self. To grasp the significance of Jehovah only; and the general bearing of the first Commandment upon the rest of the Commandments, let any American citizen ask himself this: What would be the consequences if we should agree to maintain the same form of government as we are having now but, instead of Americanism, call it Bolshevism?

WHAT IS YOUR IDEAL?

Free thinker, Socialist, Anarchist or whoever you may be, if common sense and common decency prompt you to approve of such fundamentals as "Honor thy father and thy mother." "Thou shalt not steal" etc. your prime ideal is Jehovah. For all the commandments, bear the stamp Jehovah, as shown above. Whether Jehovah is the God, Creator and Ruler of the universe, or the ideal embracing the principles of: "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not bear false witness" etc. every individual is at liberty to determine for himself or herself. Like any other ideal, one cannot claim approval of its principles and disapproval of the ideal itself.

Since no one—who is opposed to such principles as: "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not commit adultry" etc.—can claim to be worthy of being an American citizen, is obvious that the principles of the Decalogue not only coincide with the principles of Americanism, but are wholly dependent upon each other; the principles of the former giving man the right to be called civilized, and the principles of the latter giving man the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Therefore, to eliminate both the religious and scientific fanaticisms and to safeguard the liberties as they were implanted in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, mankind should recognize that Jehovah is the God, (or ideal) Americanism the religion.

(SIGNED) **MOSES STEINBERG**
713½ W. Saratoga St.
Baltimore, Md.

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International Relations Section

India and Its Government

THE results of the Near East Conference; the resignation of Mr. Montagu, British Secretary of State for India; the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and the beginning of a policy of stricter repression in India have served to center attention on events in that country. We print below the most important letters included in a correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Government of India, expressing clearly the policies and purposes dominating the two conflicting parties. The actual development of events following this correspondence is brought out by the documents printed in the subsequent pages.

The Government's Communique

The manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi on February 4, justifying his determination to resort to mass civil disobedience, contains a series of misstatements. Some of these are so important that the Government of India cannot allow them to pass unchallenged. In the first place, they emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of civil disobedience has been forced on the non-cooperation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech, and of free press. The Government of India desire to draw attention to the fact that the decision to adopt a program of civil disobedience was finally accepted on November 4 before the recent notifications relating either to the Seditious Meetings Act or the Criminal Law Amendment Act to which Mr. Gandhi unmistakably refers were issued. It was in consequence of serious acts of lawlessness committed by persons who professed to be followers of Mr. Gandhi and the non-cooperation movement that the Government were forced to take measures which are in strict accordance with the law for the protection of peaceful citizens in the pursuit of their lawful avocations. Since the inauguration of the non-cooperation movement, the Government of India, actuated by a desire to avoid anything in the nature of the repression of political activity even though it was of an extreme character, have restricted their action in relation thereto to such measures as were necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of public tranquillity. Up to November no steps, save in Delhi last year, were taken against volunteer associations. In November, however, the Government were confronted with a new and dangerous situation. In the course of the past year, there have been systematic attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the soldiers and the police and there had occurred numerous outbreaks of serious disorder directly attributable to the propaganda of the non-cooperation party among the ignorant and excitable masses. These outbreaks had resulted in grave loss of life, the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness, and an increasing disregard for lawful authority. In November they culminated in grave riots in Bombay in which fifty-three persons lost their lives and approximately 400 were wounded. On the same date dangerous manifestations of lawlessness occurred in many other places, and at this period it became clear that many of the volunteer associations had embarked on a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation, and obstruction to combat which proceedings under the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure had proved ineffective. In these circumstances the Government were reluctantly compelled to resort to measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character. Nevertheless the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act was strictly limited to a few districts in which the risk of grave disturbances of the peace was specially great and the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 was confined to associations the majority of the numbers of which had habitually indulged in violence and intimidation. It is impossible here to set out in details the evidence which justified the adoption of these measures in the different provinces. Abundant proof is, however, to be found in the published proceedings of the various legislative bodies, in the communiques of different local governments and pronouncements of heads of provinces. While resolute in their determination to enforce respect for law and order and to protect loyal and peaceful subjects of the Crown, the Government have at the same time taken every precaution possible to mitigate, where desirable, the conditions of imprisonment and to avoid any action which might have the appearance of vindictive severity. Ample proof of this will be found in the orders issued by the local governments. Numerous offenders have been released, sentences have been reduced, and special consideration has been shown in the case of persons convicted of offenses under the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. There is thus no shadow of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscriminate and lawless repression. . . .

It remains for the Government of India to deal with the allegation that His Excellency summarily rejected the proposal for a conference although the terms put forward by the Conference at Bombay and accepted by the Working Committee of the Congress were quite in keeping with His Excellency's own requirements as indicated in his speech at Calcutta. How far this is from being the case will be manifested from a comparison of His Excellency's speech with the terms proposed by the Conference. His Excellency in that speech insisted on the imperative necessity, as a fundamental condition precedent to the discussion of any question of a conference, of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-cooperating party. No assurance on this point was, however, contained in the proposals advanced by the conference; on the contrary, while the Government were asked to make concessions which not only included the withdrawal of the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Meeting Acts and the release of persons convicted thereunder, but also the release of persons convicted of offenses designed to affect the loyalty of the army and the submission to an arbitration committee of the cases of other persons convicted under the ordinary law of the land, there was no suggestion that any of the illegal activities of the non-cooperators other than hartals, picketing, and civil disobedience should cease. Moreover, it was evident from the statements made by Mr. Gandhi at the conference that he intended to continue the enrolment of volunteers in prohibited associations and preparations for civil disobedience. Further, Mr. Gandhi also made it apparent that the proposed Round Table Conference would be called merely to register his decrees. It is idle to suggest that terms of this character fulfilled in any way the essentials laid down by His Excellency or can reasonably be described as having been made in response to the sentiments expressed by him. Finally, the Government of India desire to draw attention to the demands put forward in the concluding paragraph of Mr. Gandhi's present manifesto which exceed even the demands made by the Working Committee of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi's demands now include: (1) The release of all prisoners convicted or under trial for non-violent activities. (2) A guaranty that Government will refrain absolutely from interference with all non-violent activities of the non-cooperation party even though they fall within the purview of the Indian Penal Code, or in other words an undertaking that the Government will indefinitely hold in abeyance in regard to the non-cooperators the ordinary and long-established law of the land.

In return for these concessions he indicates that he intends to continue the illegal and seditious propaganda and operations

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of the non-cooperation party and merely appeals to postpone civil disobedience of an aggressive character until the offenders now in jail have had an opportunity of reviewing the whole situation. In the same paragraph he reaffirms the unalterable character of the demands of his party. The Government of India are confident that all right-thinking citizens will recognize that this manifesto constitutes no response whatever to the speech of His Excellency at Calcutta and that the demands made are such as no Government could discuss, much less accept.

The alternatives that now confront the people of India are such as sophistry can no longer obscure or disguise. The issue is no longer between this or that program of political advance, but between lawlessness with all its dangerous consequences on the one hand and on the other the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilized government. Mass civil disobedience is fraught with such danger to the state that it must be met with sternness and severity. The Government entertain no doubt that in any measures which they may have to take for its suppression, they can count on the support and assistance of all law-abiding and loyal citizens of His Majesty.

February 6.

Mahatma Gandhi's Rejoinder

I have very carefully read the Government's reply to my letter to His Excellency. I confess that I was totally unprepared for such an evasion of the realities of the case as the reply betrays. I will take the very first repudiation. The reply says: "They [the Government] emphatically repudiate the statement that they have embarked on a policy of lawless repression and also the suggestion that the present campaign of civil disobedience has been forced on the non-cooperation party in order to secure the elementary rights of free association, free speech, and a free press." Even a cursory glance at my letter would show that while civil disobedience was authorized by the All-India Congress Committee meeting held on November 4 at Delhi it had not commenced. I have made it clear in my letter that the contemplated mass civil disobedience was indefinitely postponed on account of the regrettable events of November 17 in Bombay. That decision was duly published, and it is within the knowledge of the Government as also the public that herculean efforts were being made to combat the still lingering violent tendency among the people. It is also within the knowledge of the Government and the public that a special form of pledge was devised to be signed by volunteers with the deliberate purpose of keeping out all but men of proved character. The primary object of these volunteer associations was to inculcate among the masses the lessons of nonviolence and to keep the peace at all non-cooperation functions. Unfortunately the Government of India lost its head completely over the Bombay events and perhaps still more over the very complete hartal on the same date at Calcutta. I do not wish to deny that there might have been some intimidation practiced in Calcutta, but it was not, I venture to submit, the fact of intimidation but the irritation caused by the completeness of the hartal that maddened the Government of India as also the Government of Bengal. Repression there was even before that time, but the repression that came in the wake of the notifications proclaiming the Criminal Law Amendment Act for the purpose of dealing with volunteer associations and the Seditious Meetings Act for the purpose of dealing with public meetings held by non-cooperators came upon the non-cooperation community as a bombshell. I repeat, then, that these notifications and the arrests of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Mulana Abul Kalam Azad in Bengal, the arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his coworkers in the U. P. and of Lala Lajpat Rai and his party in the Punjab made it absolutely necessary to take up, not yet aggressive civil disobedience, but only defensive civil disobedience, otherwise described as passive resistance. . . .

Now for the statement that the Government "have embarked on a policy of lawless repression." Instead of an ample expression of regret and apology for the barbarous deeds that have been committed by officials in the name of law and order I regret to find in the government reply a categorical denial of any "lawless repression." In this connection I urge the public and Government carefully to consider the following facts whose substance is beyond challenge:

1. The official shooting of Entally in Calcutta and the callous treatment even of a corpse;
2. The admitted brutality of the Civil Guards;
3. The forcible dispersal of a meeting at Dacca, and the dragging of innocent men by their legs although they had given no offense or cause whatsoever;
4. Similar treatment of volunteers in Aligarh;
5. The conclusive (in my opinion) findings of the committee presided over by Dr. Gokul Chand Nerang about the brutal and uncalled-for assaults upon volunteers and the public in Lahore;
6. Wicked and inhuman treatment of volunteers and the public at Jullunder;
7. The shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun and the cruelly forcible dispersal of a public meeting at that place;
8. The looting admitted by the Bihar Government of villages by an officer and his company without any permission whatsoever from any one, but as stated by non-cooperators at the invitation of a planter, and the assaults upon volunteers and burning of khaddar and papers belonging to the Congress at Sonepur;
9. Midnight searches and arrests in Congress and Khilafat offices.

I have merely given a sample of the many "infallible proofs" of official lawlessness and barbarism. I have mentioned not even a tithe of what is happening all over the country, and I wish to state without fear of successful contradiction that the scale on which this lawlessness has gone on in so many provinces of India puts into shade the inhumanities that were practiced in the Punjab if we except the crawling order and the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh. . . . But as if this warfare against innocence was not enough, the reins are being tightened in the jails. We know nothing of what is happening today in the Karachi jail, to a solitary prisoner in the Sabarmati jail and to a batch in Benares jail, all of whom are as innocent as I claim to be myself. Their crime consists in their constituting themselves trustees of national honor and dignity. I am hoping that these proud and defiant spirits will not be bent into submission to insolence masquerading in the official garb. I deny the right of the authorities to insist on high-souled men appearing before them almost naked or pay any obsequious respect to them by way of salaaming with open palms brought together or rising to the intonation of "Sarkar Ek hai." No God-fearing man will do the latter even if he has to be kept standing in stocks for days and nights, as a Bengal schoolmaster is reported to have been. . . .

It is the physical and brutal ill-treatment of humanity which has made many of my coworkers and myself impatient of life itself, and in the face of these things I do not wish to take public time by dealing in detail with what I mean by abuse of the common law of the country, but I cannot help correcting the misimpression which is likely to be created in connection with the Bombay disorders. Disgraceful and deplorable as they were, let it be remembered that of the fifty-three persons who lost their lives over forty-five were non-cooperators or their sympathizers, the hooligans, and of the 400 wounded, to be absolutely on the safe side, over 350 were also derived from the same class. I do not complain. The non-cooperators and the friendly hooligans got what they deserved. They began the violence—they reaped the reward. Let it also not be forgotten that with all deference to the Bombay Government it was non-cooperators, ably assisted by independents and cooperators, who brought peace out of that chaos of the two days following the fateful 17th.

I must totally deny the imputation that "the application of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was confined to associations the majority of the members of which had habitually indulged

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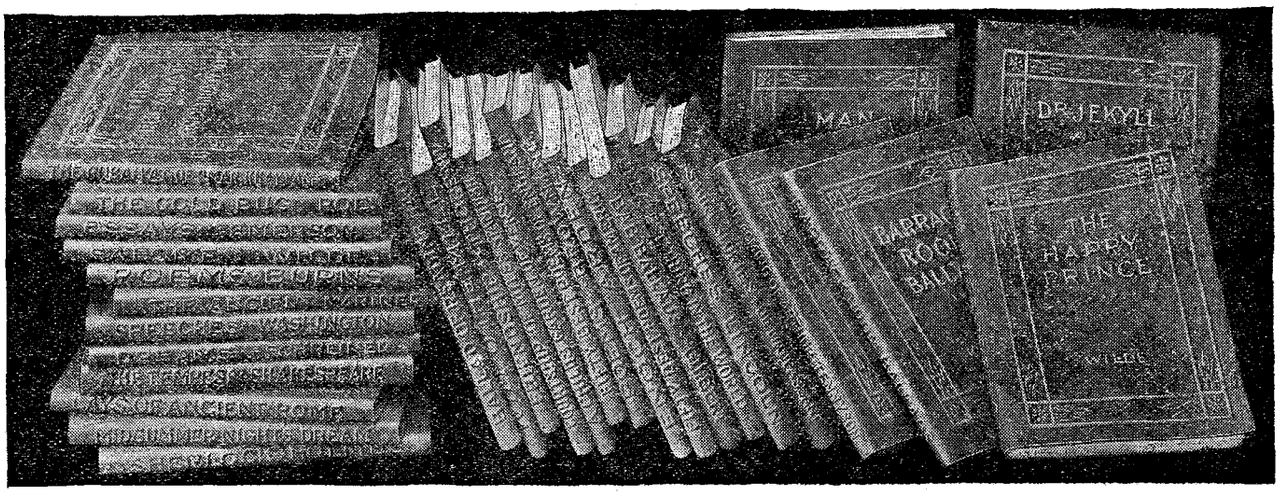

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in violence and intimidation." The prisons of India today hold some of the most inoffensive men and hardly any who have either resorted to violence or intimidation and who are convicted under that law. Abundant proof can be produced in support of this statement as also of the statement of the fact that almost wherever meetings have been broken up there was absolutely no risk of violence. . . .

The Government communique does me a cruel wrong by imputing to me a desire that the proposed Round Table Conference should be called "merely to register" my "decrees." I did state in order to avoid any misunderstanding the Congress demands, as I feel I was in duty bound in as clear terms as possible. No congressman could approach any conference without making his position clear. I expected the ordinary courtesy of not considering me or any congressman to be impervious to reason and argument. It is open to anybody to convince me that the demands of the Congress regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab, and Swaraj are wrong or unreasonable, and I would certainly retrace my steps and so far as I am concerned rectify the wrong. The Government of India know that such has been always my attitude.

The communique strongly enough says that the demands set forth in my manifesto are even larger than those of the Working Committee. I claim that they fall far below the demands of the Working Committee, for what I now ask against total suspension of civil disobedience of an aggressive character is merely the stoppage of ruthless repression, the release of prisoners convicted under it, and a clear declaration of policy. The demands of the Working Committee included a Round Table Conference. In my manifesto I have not asked for a Round Table Conference at all. It is true that this waiving of a Round Table Conference does not proceed from any expediency, but it is a confession of present weakness. I freely recognize that unless India becomes saturated with the spirit of non-violence and generates disciplined strength that can only come from non-violence she cannot enforce her demands, and it is for that reason that I now consider that the first thing for the people to do is to secure a reversal of this mad repression and then to concentrate upon more complete organization and more construction, and here again the communique does me an injustice by merely stating that civil disobedience of an aggressive character will be postponed until the opportunity is given to the imprisoned leaders of reviewing the whole situation after their discharge, and by conveniently omitting to mention the following concluding sentences of my letter:

"If the Government make the requested declaration I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall therefore have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further molding public opinion without violent restraint from either side and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands. Aggressive civil disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuses to yield to clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India."

I venture to claim extreme reasonableness and moderation for the above presentation of the case.

The alternative before the people therefore is not, as the communique concludes, "between lawlessness with all its disastrous consequences on the one hand and on the other the maintenance of those principles which lie at the root of all civilized governments." "Mass civil disobedience," it adds, "is fraught with such danger to the state that it must be met with sternness and severity." The choice before the people is mass civil disobedience with all its undoubted dangers and lawless repression of lawful activities of the people. I hold that it is impossible for any body of self-respecting men for fear of unknown dangers to sit still and do nothing effective while looting of property and assaulting of innocent men are going on all over the country in the name of law and order.

February 9. M. K. GANDHI.

Civil Disobedience Postponed

MAHATMA GANDHI'S threat of "defensive civil disobedience" was never carried into effect. He and the Indian National Congress had warned the people to maintain absolute order while the disobedience campaign was in progress, but at Bareilly on February 3 a riot took place following an illegal parade of volunteers, and a few days later in Chauri Chaura—another town in the United Provinces—a serious conflict took place between the people and the police. Several policemen and many natives were killed. When Gandhi heard of these events he changed his plans in regard to the civil-disobedience campaign and called a meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, together with some independent leaders, on February 11. They issued a series of resolutions, the more important of which we take from *Swarajya* (Madras).

1. The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered the constables and wantonly burned the police thana, and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

2. In view of nature's repeated warnings every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent some popular violent outburst has taken place, indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass civil disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura, near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the local congress committees forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

3. The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to insure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur, or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on November 17, 1921, and January 13, last.

4. In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises till further instruction all Congress organizations to stop activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities including voluntary hartals wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured, and for that end all picketing shall be stopped save for the bona fide and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor shops against the evils of drinking; such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by the Congress committee concerned.

5. The Working Committee advises till further instructions the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications regarding such meetings. This however shall not interfere with the private meetings of the Congress and other committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress. . . .

8. Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that in the formation of volunteer corps great laxity prevails in the selection and that insistence is not laid on the full use of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, and on the full observance by Hindus of the rule as to the removal of untouchability, nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candidates believe fully in the observance of non-violence in intent, word, and deed in terms of the Congress resolution, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organizations to revise their lists and remove from them the names of all such volunteers as do not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

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Are We a Nation of Low Brows?

It is charged that the public is intellectually incompetent. Is this true? It is charged that the public is afraid of ideas, disinclined to think, unfriendly to culture. This is a serious matter. The facts should be faced frankly and honestly.

Without Cultural Leadership.

The main criticism, as we find it, is that the people support ventures that are unworthy, that represent no cultural standards. The public is fed on low brow reading matter, low brow movies, low brow theatrical productions, low brow music, low brow newspapers, low brow magazines. As for ourselves, we think the criticism is unfair in that it does not recognize the fact that the public is without cultural leadership. Those who have the divine spark get off by themselves. We believe the public has never had a real chance, never had an opportunity to get acquainted with the great and the beautiful things of life. Given half a chance, we think the public will respond.

We believe there has been enough talk about the public's inferior taste. The time has come to give the public an opportunity to find out something about philosophy, science and the higher things. And the thing must be done at a low price, because the average person's pocketbook is not fat. As it stands, the publishers charge about five dollars a volume, and then wonder why the people stand aloof.

We believe we have hit on a way to find out if the people are interested in the deeper problems of life. And the first thing we decided was to fix a price that shall be within the reach of the person with the most slender purse.

We have selected a library of 25 books, which we are going to offer the public at an absurdly low price. We shall do this to find out if it is true that the public is not going to accept the better things when once given the chance. And we shall make the price so reasonable, so inviting, that there shall be no excuse on the ground of expense.

All Great Things Are Simple.

Once the contents of the following 25 books are absorbed and digested, we believe a person will be well on the road to culture. And by culture we do not mean something dry-as-dust, something incomprehensible to the average mind—genuine culture, like great sculpture, can be made to delight the common as well as the elect. The books listed below are all simple works and yet they are great—all great things are simple. They are serious works, of course, but we do not think the public will refuse to put its mind on serious topics. Here are the 25 books:

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Schopenhauer's Essays. For those who regard philosophy as a thing of abstractions, vague and divorced from life, Schopenhauer will be a revelation.

The Trial and Death of Socrates. This is dramatic literature as well as sound philosophy.

Meditations of Marcus Aurelius. This old Roman emperor was a paragon of wisdom and virtue. He will help you.

The Discovery of the Future. H. G. Wells asks and answers the question: Is life just an unsolvable, haphazard struggle?

Dialogues of Plato. This volume takes you into Plato's immortal circle.

Foundations of Religion. Prof. Cook asks and answers the question: Where and how did religious ideas originate?

Studies in Pessimism. Schopenhauer presents a serious and well-studied viewpoint of life. The substance of his philosophy.

The Idea of God in Nature. John Stuart Mill. How the idea of God may come naturally from observation of nature is explained in this volume.

Life and Character. Goethe. The fruits of his study and observation is explained in this volume.

Thoughts of Pascal. Pascal thought a great deal about God and the Universe, and the origin and purpose of life.

The Olympian Gods. Tichenor. A study of ancient mythology.

The Stoic Philosophy. Prof. Gilbert Murray. He tells what this belief consisted of, how it was discovered and developed, and what we can today learn from it.

God: Known and Unknown. Samuel Butler. A really important work.

Nietzsche: Who He Was and What He Stood For. This is a carefully planned study.

Sun Worship and Later Beliefs. Tichenor. A most important study for those who wish to understand ancient religions.

Primitive Beliefs. Tichenor. You get a clear idea from this account of the beliefs of primitive man.

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Survival of the Fittest. Another phase of the Darwinian theory.

Evolution vs. Religion. You should read this discussion.

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Biology and Spiritual Philosophy. This is a very interesting and instructive work.

Bacon's Essays. These essays contain much sound wisdom that still holds.

Emerson's Essays. Emerson was a friend of Carlyle, and in some respects a greater philosopher.

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9. The Working Committee is of opinion that unless congressmen carry out to the full the Congress constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Committee, it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

10. The foregoing resolutions will have effect only pending the meeting to be specially convened of the All-India Congress Committee and thereafter subject to confirmation by it, the Secretary to call such a meeting as early as possible after consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan.

The resolutions conclude with a list of suggestions to all committees and local organizations of the Congress to pursue the work of enrolling members who actually believe in the principles of "non-violence and truth," to popularize the use of the spinning-wheel and of hand-woven cloth, to organize national schools and induce the untouchables to send their children to them, to push the temperance campaign, and in general "to promote and emphasize unity among all classes and races. . . ."

Forcing a Loan on Santo Domingo

THE following proclamation was issued by the Military Government in Santo Domingo on March 6:

PROCLAMATION

TO PROVIDE FOR CONTINUING MILITARY OCCUPATION UNTIL APPROXIMATELY JULY 1, 1924

WHEREAS, By Proclamation of July 27, 1921, the United States Government announced its intention to adhere to the terms of the proposed Convention of Evacuation, outlined in the Proclamation of June 14, 1921, and also announced its intention to postpone the meeting of the Primary Assemblies summoned by order of convocation dated July 14, 1921, until such time as the success of an election might be assured, and

WHEREAS, The Dominican people have now had ample time to consider the Proclamation of June 14, 1921, and have given no evidence of their willingness to accept its terms, and

WHEREAS, It would be detrimental to the well-being of the Dominican people to permit the present state of suspense and uncertainty in governmental affairs to continue:

Now, therefore, I, Samuel S. Robison, Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy, Military Governor of Santo Domingo, acting under authority of the Government of the United States, do hereby withdraw and annul the Proclamation of June 14, 1921, and so also withdraw and annul the Proclamation of December 23, 1920, and do hereby announce and proclaim that the Military Government will continue to operate in accordance with the Proclamation of November 29, 1916; will continue its program of public works and public education, and organization and training of a Dominican military force sufficient to preserve order in the republic without the aid of the military forces of the United States, and for these purposes will negotiate a loan which will be secured by Dominican customs revenues in such manner as not to increase present annual charges. And I do further announce that upon the conclusion of the present program of public works and when an adequate Dominican military force has been recruited and trained, the United States Government will consider complete withdrawal of the Military Government and of all its military forces, such withdrawal being conditioned upon the prior election of a properly constituted Dominican Government and the prior negotiation and ratification of a treaty providing for an extension of the duties of the General Receiver of Dominican Customs, as appointed under the Convention of 1907, until the loan mentioned above is paid off, and making such other provisions as may appear to be to the mutual advantage of the United States and of the Dominican Republic.

March 6, 1922

S. S. ROBISON,
Rear Admiral, United States Navy,
Military Governor of Santo Domingo

On March 5 New York newspapers carried the announcement of the loan referred to in the above proclamation. The amount of the loan was for $6,700,000, twenty-year customs administration 5½ per cent, repayable at maturity at 101 and interest, price 94½ and interest, yielding about 6 per cent. The following information is submitted in the circulars of the loan over the signature of D. W. Rose, Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy:

The issue of these bonds has received the approval of the United States Government required by the terms of the American-Dominican Convention of 1907 and the Secretary of State consents to the inclusion in the bonds of the following statement:

"The acceptance and validation of this bond issue by any government of the Dominican Republic as a legal, binding, and irrevocable obligation of the Dominican Republic is hereby guaranteed by the Military Government of Santo Domingo, and, with the consent of the United States Government, the General Receiver of Dominican Customs, appointed under the Convention of 1907, will, during the life of that Convention, make such payments as are necessary for the service of the new loan from the revenues accruing to the Dominican Government. The Military Government further agrees that after the expiration of the Convention of 1907 such customs revenues shall be collected and applied by an official appointed by the President of the United States in the same manner as the present General Receiver of Customs, and that the loan now authorized shall have a first lien upon such customs revenues until all the bonds thereof are paid in full." The authorized loan herein referred to is a loan of $10,000,000 of which this $6,700,000 is a part. . . .

On March 16 the *Listin Diario* published a statement by the various nationalist bodies of Santo Domingo:

In view of the Proclamation issued on March 6 by Rear-Admiral Robison, U. S. N., we reiterate our energetic protest against the occupation of Dominican Territory by American forces, and against the administration of the public affairs of the Dominican Republic by the American Military Government. We further protest against any loan or debt which, in the name of the Dominican people, said Military Government may contract, and we affirm that the Dominican people will never assume the responsibility of such obligations.

This is the second loan floated within a year by the Military Government for the Dominican Republic. A loan of $2,500,000, floated by Speyer & Company and the Equitable Trust Company of New York, under date of June 20, 1921, contained provisions for the redemption of at least one-quarter of the total amount of the loan by means of semi-annual drawings of bonds in New York, announced to yield:

18.91	per	cent	if	redeemed	December 1, 1921
13.20	"	"	"	"	June 1, 1922
11.28	"	"	"	"	December 1, 1922
10.37	"	"	"	"	June 1, 1923
9.85	"	"	"	"	December 1, 1923
9.50	"	"	"	"	June 1, 1924
9.26	"	"	"	"	December 1, 1924
9.07	"	"	"	"	June 1, 1925

A statement over the signature of Arthur H. Mayo, Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy, appears also in the circular. It approves the bond issue in the name of the Government of the United States and includes the following statement of the Government's intentions:

The Military Government will be withdrawn only upon the consummation of a treaty of evacuation between the Dominican Republic and the United States Government which shall contain among other provisions (a) ratifying all acts of the Military Government; (b) validating the above loan of $2,500,000; and (c) extending the duties and powers of the General Receiver of Dominican Customs until said bonds shall have been paid.

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